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FOCUS

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JCPS Exclusive

Vietnam "Battle Deaths": Is There a Race or Class Issue?

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School Desegregation Needed Now

Support for Busing Grows but National Policy Has Been at a Stand-Still in the 1980s

Telescope

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER

Perspective

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Gaining Influence on the Foreign Affairs Front

"Foreign Policy and the Black Community" should become a new title in our public policy library. It's not a new book, although it might well be. It is a critical issue in our national life, whether our concern is a nuclear holocaust or peaceful coexistence, employment or unemployment. Increasingly, our nation's foreign policies knock on the doors where we live and determine our lifestyles and livelihood.

On the tenth anniversary of TransAfrica, black America's sole foreign policy lobby, I was asked to address this subject. Reflecting on what I would say, I was reminded of how long it had been since Martin Luther King, Jr., was castigated—mainly by whites but, sad to say, by some blacks as well—for speaking out against the war in Vietnam. That was more than 20 years ago!

Much has changed since then, of course, including what some see as a hypersensitivity toward a "new Vietnam" in Central America, the creation of TransAfrica, the appointment of Andrew Young as the first black American ambassador to the United Nations, and the inclusion of more blacks in the foreign policy establishment.

Despite these changes, blacks are still hardly a blip on the foreign policy scene, signifying how invisible they were two decades ago. Two reinforcing perceptions can be blamed. One is that all too many black Americans view foreign policy as less important to their welfare and self-interests than domestic-policy, particularly civil rights. The other perception is that too many influential white Americans simply erase blacks from the foreign policy slate. They conclude that blacks are neither interested in nor particularly qualified for participation in the foreign policy field. There is a lot of myth, mischief, and hyperbole in both perceptions. But there also is some truth.

This situation is not likely to change significantly until black Americans begin to take a more aggressive and informed interest in foreign policy. This means making a connection between our enlightened self-interests and the positions the United States takes on international questions, whether the issue is who defends America (see pages 3 and 4 of *Focus*), international trade, or human rights.

Beyond Africa and the Caribbean, not enough blacks have concluded that there is nothing "foreign" about foreign policy. On the international side, as on the domestic side, the key issue is politics—who gets what, when, and how. Therefore, blacks can inject themselves into the international decision-making process in much the same way they influence domestic policies.

To do so, however, requires us to master some fundamentals:

- We need to understand our interests and those of the nation as a whole and to be able to distinguish the priorities of self and those of society.
- We must master the international facts, figures, and terrain and acquire the expertise to support our arguments.
- We must know how foreign policy is made and implemented by the United States and other governments.
- We must prepare and compete vigorously for admission to the select councils in which policies are proposed and influenced.
- And, finally, we must mobilize the black community, as a whole, to be a coherent force in the stream of foreign affairs.

TransAfrica, by focusing on Africa and the Caribbean, has become the model of how to influence foreign policy. It is an example we should follow more broadly and more intensively. ■

Eddie N. Williams

PRESIDENT

FOCUS

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Vietnam "Battle Deaths": Is There a Race or Class Issue?

Black Casualties Were Heavy in Ground War in 1965 and 1966; From 1961-73, 12 Percent Died

by Felix (Pete) Peterson

The Vietnam Memorial is where visitors to Washington, D.C., gather, in all our national diversity, to commemorate our pride, grief, and lingering doubts about a conflict that claimed the lives of thousands of American men and women. As the visitors scan the names of those who died serving their country, some may wonder whether the sacrifice was borne unequally by racial minorities and the poor.

Some may recall the famous Riverside Church sermon of the late Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., who said, "We were taking the black young men who had been crippled by our society and sending them eight thousand miles away to guarantee liberties in Southeast Asia which they had not found in southwest Georgia and east Harlem." Dr. King went on to say that "the poor fight and die in extraordinarily high proportions relative to the rest of the population."

Were Dr. King's views, which are widely shared in the black community, correct? The data I have collected suggest that Dr. King was on target, on both the racial and class questions, at the time of his speech in 1967. (Dr. King died on April 4, 1968.) However, for the entire war, which lasted from 1961 to 1973, black casualties did not exceed the percentage of blacks in the population. In a later section of this article, I discuss why black casualties were higher in some years than in others.

Army Lt. Col. Felix (Pete) Peterson is a senior military fellow at JCPS for 1987.

"Battle Deaths," by Race

Year	*Black (%)*	*White (%)*
1961	0	11 (100%)
1962	0	29 (93.5%)
1963	4 (5.1%)	73 (93.5%)
1964	10 (6.8%)	134 (91.1%)
1965	225 (16.4%)	1120 (81.8%)
1966	822 (16.4%)	4116 (82.2%)
1967	1191 (12.7%)	8107 (86.5%)
1968	1885 (12.9%)	12561 (86.1%)
1969	1016 (10.8%)	8304 (82.8%)
1970	372 (8.8%)	3815 (90.4%)
1971	117 (8.5%)	1248 (90.4%)
1972	21 (7.0%)	276 (92.0%)
1973	9 (.05%)	228 (96.2%)
Total*	5672 (12.3%)	40022 (86.7%)

Source: Report titled "Casualties incurred in connection with the conflict in Vietnam," Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense (Comptroller), prepared on April 25, 1974.

* This number does not include those who have died since 1974 as a result of injuries suffered during the conflict.

Casualty Levels, Year by Year

The above table contains a year-by-year breakdown of all Vietnam "battle deaths" (defined as deaths resulting from *hostile enemy action;* they exclude deaths from disease, vehicle accidents, etc.) for blacks and whites, from 1961 to 1973.

In searching for an explanation for the higher rate of black casualties in the years 1965-66, I looked at two sets of data. First, I examined the records on "Military Occupational Specialities," which show that blacks were disproportionately likely to serve in the two types of units most likely to suffer casualties in a ground war, i.e., the infantry and artillery. The percentage of blacks in these two types of units exceeded the percentage of blacks in the Army for each year of the war. In 1965, blacks were 12.8 percent of Army personnel but 14.9 percent of infantry and artillery troops; in 1966, blacks were 11.3 percent of the Army but 17.2 per-

When the total battle casualty numbers for the entire war (1961-73) are reviewed, racial disparities are not evident.

cent of the infantry and artillery units.

Second, as the chart below shows, the percentage of black casualties in the Army jumped sharply from 7.6 percent in 1964 to 20.7 percent in 1965. This increase is the single most important factor in explaining the rise in the overall rate of black casualties.

Who Fought for America?

Though large racial disparities for the entire 1961-73 period are not evident, was Dr. King correct in his perception that the poor suffered disproportionately? Several scholars have looked at the class question.

Maurice Zieltin, Kenneth Lutherman, and James Russello, for instance, did a study of 380 Wisconsin men killed in Vietnam prior to December 31, 1967. By comparing income and occupational data from the parents of the deceased with similar data from a control group, these researchers "found that almost twice as many of the total casualties were from poor families relative to the control group (27.2 percent versus 14.9 percent)."

The poor, the disadvantaged, the dropouts, and those not pursuing an advanced degree were selected to fight for America...

In another study, Gilbert Badillo and G. David Curry looked at the relationships between casualty rates and the racial composition and socioeconomic indicators of the community from which the individual was drafted or enlisted. They concluded that the socioeconomic strata of the individual, and not race, was the primary sociological determinant of disparities in casualty rates.

They further noted that, "Those military occupational specialities (MOS), such as rifleman, which entail the greatest exposure to danger, are the same MOS's which require the lowest level of preservice training and ability. Operating under the combat demands of the Southeast Asian involvement, the U.S. armed forces acted with blind 'rationality' when it assigned individuals of lower socioeconomic origins to those positions more susceptible to mortal casualty."

Casualty Patterns

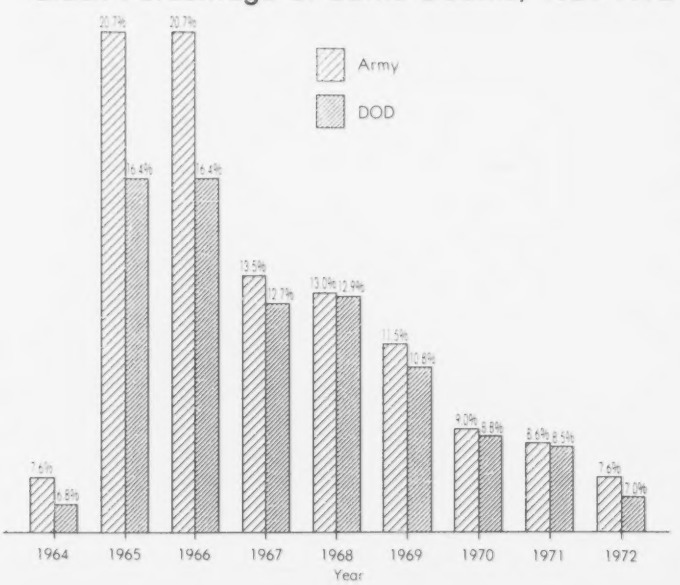
In sum, the data show that blacks did not suffer disproportionately throughout the entire course of the Vietnam War, but that they did so in 1965 and 1966. However, it also seems clear that the poor did suffer more than those of higher socioeconomic levels. Before 1967, those who were pursuing advanced degrees were deferred; they did not have to serve. Others simply went to Canada and other foreign countries to avoid the draft. Meanwhile, the poor, the disadvantaged, the dropouts, and those not pursuing an advanced degree were selected to fight for America, in the name of freedom for all mankind. In Vietnam, for the first time, America fought a war and all segments of the population did not serve equally.

Since 1973 the armed forces have used economic incentives rather than conscription to fill the enlisted ranks. The result, according to Charles Moskos, a sociologist at Northwestern University, is that today's all-volunteer force relies more heavily on blacks and poor whites than did the draft-era military. (Blacks comprise approximately 20 percent of all enlisted personnel and nearly 30 percent of the Army's enlisted personnel.)

Today's all-volunteer force relies more heavily on blacks and poor whites than did the draft-era military.

If the United States should become involved in a major, conventional (non-nuclear) conflict, the burden of battle in the early stages of the war (i.e., before additional troops are mobilized) would most likely fall disproportionately on blacks and poor whites. In such an event, Martin Luther King, Jr.'s analysis of 20 years ago might again prove to be correct. ■

Black Percentage of Battle Deaths, 1964-1972



July 1987

JCPS

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER

Inside This Issue

- **Liberals and conservatives, preparing for a major confrontation that is likely to carry over to the presidential race, are lined up on opposite sides of the battle over the nomination of conservative Judge Robert Bork to the U.S. Supreme Court.**
- **A federal appeals court in Alabama ruled that black voting rights activists were the targets of "selective prosecution" by the U.S. Department of Justice; a similar allegation has been made by several black political organizations about the U.S Attorney's investigation into alleged contracting misdeeds by the Barry administration.**
- **An "early-bird" look at the 1988 Senate races shows that black voters may be able to influence the election outcomes in Ohio, Florida, Mississippi and California.**
- **Across the nation, state Senator Barbara Morton is seeking to fill the vacant seat in Connecticut's 4th Congressional District; three-term Hartford Mayor Thirman Milner announced he would not seek reelection; "the god-father of black politics," Louis Martin, is returning to Chicago to spend more time on his consulting business; and, out-going Gary Mayor Richard Hatcher will head Jesse Jackson's presidential exploratory committee.**

The Bork Nomination, Civil Rights, and Presidential Politics

Since at least the 1976 presidential campaign, civil rights has not been a front-burner issue in presidential politics. Although Rev. JESSE JACKSON often spoke about affirmative action, the runoff primary in the South, and other civil rights issues in the 1984 campaign, no-one else did. **The 1988 presidential election was shaping up as a repeat performance--until President REAGAN nominated 60-year-old U.S. Court of Appeals Judge ROBERT BORK for the U.S. Supreme Court. Now, at least in the early stage of the presidential skirmishes, civil rights will almost certainly be featured on the agenda**...Judge Bork, nominated to replace retiring Justice LEWIS POWELL, JR., is viewed by most observers as a staunch conservative whose appointment would finally give conservatives a majority on the court. His prior judicial record and published writings indicate that he would tilt the Court to the right on the legality of affirmative action, one-man, one-vote, a woman's right to have an abortion, and other civil rights issues. While Justice Powell had been a centrist and a critical swing vote on civil rights issues, Judge Bork is likely to seek reversals of decades of rulings that broke down the barriers of racial discrimination in schools, housing, employment, and voting rights.

In the long and bitter confirmation fight that is expected in the Senate, **Judiciary Committee Chairman JOSEPH BIDEN (D-Del.) will be in the spotlight.** Biden may also be on the horns of a dilemma. Civil rights leaders expect him to lead the opposition to Bork but to do so may cost him the votes of white conservatives and moderates (especially from the South), whose support may be necessary for him to win the Democratic presidential nomination. **On July 8, 1987, Biden said there is "an overwhelming prospect" that he will oppose Bork.** Last year Biden said he would probably support Bork if he were nominated for the high court. Biden's change of heart has led conservative newspaper columnist GEORGE WILL to accuse him of giving in to the "special interests."

On the other side of the aisle, Senate Minority Leader and presidential candidate ROBERT DOLE (R-Kans.), supports Bork's confirmation and lobbied for early hearings. While this undoubtedly will enhance his appeal to the Right, it will cost him support from women and minorities. At the Annual NAACP convention, for instance, CORETTA SCOTT KING won loud applause when she said, "We must let our senators know

that a vote against Mr. Bork is a prerequisite for our vote in the next election."...Several of the Democratic presidential contenders, including Massachusetts Gov. MICHAEL DUKAKIS, Missouri Rep. RICHARD GEPHARDT, and Rev. Jesse Jackson have said they are opposed to Bork and his ideological slant on civil rights. **As Jackson put it, "No Justice is better than injustice."...The confirmation hearings in the Senate Judiciary Committee are scheduled to begin on September 15.**

Are Black Leaders Being Singled-Out by Federal Prosecutors?

Two recent legal actions, one in Alabama and the other in the District of Columbia, **shed light on an oft-recurring controversy in black politics: are white federal prosecutors abusing the law enforcement process to discredit black political leaders?** In Alabama, the answer is "yes." Last month, a federal appeals court overturned the conviction of black voting rights activist, SPIVER GORDON, on the grounds that he and others had been the targets of "selective prosecution" by the U.S. Justice Department. The court said: **"Gordon presented evidence to show that the government targeted only those counties where blacks were a majority, specifically targeting those counties where blacks since 1980 had come to control some part of the county government."** As further evidence of "selective prosecution," the appeals court quoted a Justice Department spokesman who stated that "the investigations were part of a 'new policy'...brought on by the arrogance on the part of blacks in these counties."...The charges against Gordon, a city councilmember in Greene County, stemmed from assistance he had given to elderly blacks in filling out absentee ballots. The Justice Department, through the U.S. Attorney in Birmingham, charged him with "ballot tampering." Similar charges were brought against other black activists by the U.S. Attorney in Mobile. All the defendants, except Gordon, had previously been acquitted...**The appeals court also ruled that the Justice Department had acted improperly in repeatedly striking blacks from the jury that had convicted Gordon.** "Those peremptory strikes followed a recurrent pattern of exclusions in the government's other voting-fraud cases against black leaders," the court said. As a lawyer for the activists told the *Washington Post*, "The department claimed they were trying to protect the voting rights of blacks, but they consistently struck blacks from the juries."...At press time, the Justice Department had made no decision on whether to retry Gordon. Meanwhile, lawyers for Gordon (and the other black activists who were the targets of the Justice Department) are expected to pursue their own lawsuit against the government for civil damages resulting from violation of their constitutional rights.

In the District of Columbia case, abuse of the law enforcement process has been alleged but not proved. The issue arose in a lawsuit brought by District of Columbia Mayor Marion Barry, who has accused federal prosecutors of misconduct in allegedly leaking information to the media about an ongoing investigation into alleged contracting misdeeds by the Barry Administration. On July 8, 1987, **six black political organizations filed a "friend of the court" legal brief in support of Barry. The brief alleged that Mayor BARRY and black contractors in the city are victims of the "white power structure" that is employing "the longstanding and enormously successful tactic of utilizing the powerful law enforcement agencies to discredit black leadership."** The legal papers also allege that "at each point in our nation's history, when black Americans have attempted to flex their political muscle, white Americans have responded with intimidation, assassination, persecution, or prosecution."...The brief was filed by the National Black Leadership Roundtable, the National Black Caucus of State Legislators, the National Black Caucus of Local Elected Officials, the National Conference of Black Mayors, the National Association of Black County Officials, and members of the Congressional BlackCaucus...At press time, the court had issued no rulings in this case.

Is Connecticut Ready to Elect a Black Woman to Congress?

For nine terms, the voters of Connecticut's 4th district (Stamford-Bridgeport) elected STEWART MCKINNEY, a moderate Republican and strong backer of home rule for the District of Columbia, to represent them in Congress. McKinney died last May. Among the candidates seeking to fill his vacant seat is state Sen. MARGARET E. MORTON of Bridgeport, who in 1972 became the first black woman elected to the Connecticut state Legislature. Political observers believe that Morton can be elected, though there are signs that racial issues may be a factor in the election. **The plusses are that Morton has the support of many of the Democratic leaders in the state, including 22 of 24 Democratic state senators, several unions, and the mayor and all other elected officials of Bridgeport.** In addition, **the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC),** through its networking vehicle, the Campaign Assistance Project of the National Black Leadership Roundtable, **is coordinating a four-day (July 17 through 21) voter turnout drive for**

Morton, and several CBC members will stump the district in the closing days of the campaign...**On the negative side, some of Morton's campaign workers say the race issue "is floating around."** They point to a comment by a prominent Republican in the state that, "If Democrats get their act together, they could elect a brown dog." This statement has been criticized by a state Democratic party leader as "racist," since the usual expression is "yellow dog Democrat." In response to questions that have been raised about her ability to represent "all the people," Sen. Morton's staffers say she is the most experienced elected official in the race, the only candidate who has never lost a race, and the candidate who presently represents a diverse state legislative district which includes poor blacks and affluent whites...The Democratic and Republican primaries will be held on July 21, and the winners will meet in a special election scheduled for August 18. The majority-white congressional district is 11 percent black, 8 percent Hispanic, and 1 percent Asian.

An Early-Bird Look at Key 1988 Senate Races for Blacks

Of the 33 U.S. Senate seats up for grabs in 1988, 19 are now held by Democrats, 14 by Republicans. Incumbents are the heavy favorites in all but 10 of these races, according to analyses in the *Cook Political Report* (February 4, 1987) and various issues of *Congressional Quarterly*. Four incumbent senators are "highly vulnerable": JEFF BINGAMAN (D-N.Mex.), HOWARD METZENBAUM (D- Ohio), DAVID DURENBERGER (R-Minn.), and CHIC HECHT (R-Nev.)...Six incumbent senators are "in potentially close races": QUENTIN BURDICK (D-N.Dak.), LAWTON CHILES (D-Fla.), JOHN STENNIS (D-Miss.), JOHN CHAFEE (R-R.I.), DAN EVANS (R-Wash.), and PETE WILSON (R-Calif.)...As the Joint Center's analysis of the 1986 midterm elections showed (*Focus* November-December, 1986), **black voters can influence the election outcome in states where at least 5 percent of the voting age population is black—in this case Ohio, Florida, Mississippi, and California.**

OHIO—Both Senator HOWARD METZENBAUM and his principal challenger Cleveland Mayor GEORGE VOINOVICH (R) are popular with black voters (who are 9 percent of the voting-age population in the state). **In the mayoral race in 1985, Voinovich was reelected with the support of 85 percent of the predominantly black precincts in Cleveland. In the U.S. Senate race in 1982, Metzenbaum won 77 percent of the black vote.** Metzenbaum also had a perfect 100 rating on civil rights issues in 1985, according to the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights (LCCR)...Voinovich faces opposition in the March 15 Republican primary from Congressman BOB MCEWEN, who represents the 6th district which includes suburbs of Cincinnati and Dayton. If Voinovich wins the GOP nomination, he stands a good chance of making inroads into the votes of independents and blacks. Early polls show a close race in a potential Voinovich-Metzenbaum contest.

FLORIDA—**Although this spring political observers thought this Senate race might be close, they are now moving it into the "safe" category for incumbent Democrat LAWTON CHILES.** U.S. Rep. CONNIE MACK (R-Fla.), who was expected to be Chiles's toughest opponent, has said he "most likely will not" enter the race. Another possible challenger, U.S. Rep. BILL MCCOLLUM (R-Fla.), has yet to express his intention. Also considering a run for the Republican nomination are former Attorney General JIM SMITH, U.S. Rep. ANDY IRELAND, and former state Rep. TOM GALLAGHER, a 1986 gubernatorial candidate... **Chiles is relatively popular with blacks, who comprise 11 percent of the voting-age population; and he has a LCCR rating of 75...**Chiles has a policy of not accepting contributions from political action committees (PAC) and has set a limit of $100 on the campaign contributions he will accept. In a state known for its expensive campaigns, this increases the risks for Chiles.

MISSISSIPPI—**Will octogenarian JOHN STENNIS seek reelection to the Senate or retire? If he runs again, he will most likely be supported by many blacks, who account for 31 percent of the voting-age population.** Stennis, once the nemesis of black politics in the state, actively sought black supporters for the first time in 1982 on the basis of his vote for the extension of the Voting Rights Act. As a result, he won 80 percent of the black vote. His recent voting record has been more moderate, earning him a 1985 LCCR rating of 65...**If Stennis does retire,** U.S. Rep. WAYNE DOWDY is favored to be the Democratic candidate. Dowdy, who represents the 4th district (Jackson), has a LCCR rating of 80 and would in all likelihood be much more acceptable to blacks than Stennis. Former Democratic Congressman DAVID BOWEN might also enter the race...**On the Republican side,** Minority Whip TRENT LOTT, Stennis's 1982 opponent and a former White House political director, and former Congressman WEBB FRANKLIN (who was defeated by MIKE ESPY in the 2d district [Mississippi Delta] in 1986), are potential candidates. **All the Republican candidates are extreme conservatives who are not expected to get much support from blacks.**

CALIFORNIA—**Senator PETE WILSON's job and personality ratings have been low but his chances for reelection are boosted by the fact that California elections cost so much—giving a big edge to the incumbent.** Several Democrats are considered to be potential opponents, including former Gov. JERRY BROWN, Wilson's 1982 opponent, San Francisco Mayor DIANNE FEINSTEIN, state Sen. JOHN GARAMENDI, Lt. Gov. LEO MCCARTHY, Congressmen GEORGE MILLER and TOM LANTOS, and many others. **Some observers believe that McCarthy is the candidate to watch at this point.** Whether that is so or not, almost all of the potential Democrats are expected to be more popular among blacks (7 percent of the voting-age population) than Wilson, who won only 10 percent of the black vote in 1982 and has a LCCR rating of 37.

Across the Nation

CONNECTICUT: In New Haven, former alderman and city-town clerk **BILL JONES is in an uphill battle for mayor against incumbent Mayor BIAGIO DILIETO.** Jones, who has painted a portrait of New Haven as a tale of two cities (one black and one white), has said he will be mayor of the entire city, not just downtown, Yale University, and the affluent parts of town. His main issues are declining city services and the inferior state of the public schools. Some observers say that if New Haven's blacks (who compose approximately 35-40 percent of the population) unite around Jones and if the Jones campaign is well-financed, he can win enough of the white vote to win the race.

In other news, **Hartford Mayor THIRMAN MILNER has announced he will not seek reelection this year. Milner has served three terms.** As of July 1, no one had filed to run for the mayor's seat, but Milner has already indicated his choice, state Rep. CARRIE SAXON PERRY, who is also black. Perry and other candidates are expected to enter the race.

GEORGIA: The Georgia Municipal Association (GMA) elected Atlanta City Councilman IRA JACKSON as its president in late June. **Jackson became the first black elected president in the 55-year history of the GMA, considered one of the most politically powerful lobbying groups in the state.** Upon election, Jackson immediately called for the state to "recognize its responsibilities" to help Georgia's cities find additional sources of tax money and asked that the GMA expand its clout nationally by sponsoring a series of Super Tuesday presidential primary debates.

ILLINOIS: LOUIS MARTIN, once dubbed "the godfather of black politics" by *The Washington Post*, is returning to Chicago to take a more active role in Calmar Communications, Inc. **Martin, the board chairman of Calmar, played a key role in the administrations of Presidents JOHN F. KENNEDY, LYNDON JOHNSON and JIMMY CARTER, pressing for the appointment of senior black officials.** He was also one of the founders of the Joint Center for Political Studies in Washington. **Martin is expected to advise presidential candidates on how to win the black vote in 1988.**

INDIANA: Outgoing Gary Mayor RICHARD HATCHER has been named director of JESSE JACKSON'S Presidential Exploratory Committee. Hatcher, the mayor of Gary for 20 years, was chairman of Rev. Jackson's campaign for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1983-84. According to him, "all looks good now" for a Jackson presidential bid in 1988.

MICHIGAN: Flint Mayor JAMES A. SHARP, JR., announced his candidacy for reelection, saying he will stress his record which includes improved streets, the demolition of abandoned homes, and making the city "physically more liveable." Some observers, however, expect crime to be the key issue in the August 4 primary and November 3 election. Flint set a city record last year with 62 homicides. Sharp responds that although crime is a problem, he is "putting more [police] cars and officers on the streets during peak crime periods." He added, however, that more must be done to address the causes of crime—"drugs, domestic violence, unemployment, and a lack of values and self-discipline." His challengers are former Mayor JAMES RUTHERFORD, who leads Sharp in the polls; former Flint Councilman WOODY ETHERLY, JR., who is expected to split the city's black vote; and MATTHEW COLLIER, who is making his first bid for public office. As of July 1, three blacks and three whites had entered the race. Mayor Sharp is Flint's first elected black mayor.

MARYLAND: State's Attorney KURT SCHMOKE continues to enjoy a wide lead over incumbent Mayor CLARENCE (DU) BURNS in polls conducted in the Baltimore mayoral race. Both are Democrats. Given the Democratic party's 10-to-1 registration edge over Republicans in the city, winning the Democratic primary is tantamount to election. The primary will be held on September 15.

OHIO: The Hamilton County (Cincinnati) Republican party has endorsed Attorney VICKIE JACKSON-WHITFIELD for county judge. **Jackson-Whitfield, the first black woman to be endorsed for a judicial post by the county GOP, will oppose Municipal Judge NADINE ALLEN, a Democrat who is black.**

TENNESSEE: State Rep. RUFUS JONES says he is "99 percent certain" he will enter the Memphis mayoral race. Jones, the only black operator of a Big Star store—a chain of 150 stores in the state—is chairman of the Tennessee Black Caucus and a member of the Finance, Ways and Means, and Commerce committees in the state legislature. He has also been appointed to the Transportation Committee of the National Association of State Legislators. One of Jones's first goals is to unite black leadership in the city behind him. Toward that end, Jones has already spoken to "Memphians for a Black Mayor," a diverse ad-hoc group of black leaders. **Another black candidate, city council member MINERVA JOHNICAN, has also announced she will run for mayor.** In the past, there have been divisions between Johnican and Memphis's influential Ford family (the family of U.S. Rep. HAROLD FORD). Black registration now comprises approximately 50 percent of the total voter registration in the city.

TEXAS: Black Democratic state Sen. CRAIG WASHINGTON (Houston) has attached a 10 percent minority set-aside amendment to a bill to create a new state Department of Commerce. Blacks compose 11 percent and Hispanics 18 percent of the state's population but currently receive only about 1 percent of state contracts. House Speaker GIB LEWIS, who backed the bill to create the new department, argues that minorities should be "competitive just like everyone else" and is willing to kill the amended bill rather than accept a minority set-aside clause. Washington, according to the *Comparative State Politics Newsletter*, called Lewis a "chauvinist racist" and compared the House Speaker's behavior with that of former Alabama Gov. GEORGE WALLACE in the 1960s. Attorney General JIM MATTOX has called the amendment "the most important civil rights measure before the legislature in a decade." The bill is currently in a Joint House-Senate conference committee.

This article is adapted from a report prepared for the Joint Center for Political Studies by the National School Desegregation Project. *Dr. ORFIELD, a JCPS Adjunct Scholar and professor of political science, public policy, and education at the University of Chicago, authored the report with the assistance of FRANKLIN MONTFORT, University of Wisconsin Center for Demography, and ROSEMARY GEORGE, a graduate student at the University of Chicago.*

Copies of the full report, including all charts, can be obtained by calling Jean Jalloh, Research Department, JCPS, at (202) 626-3500.

School Desegregation Needed Now

Support for Busing Grows but National Policy Has Been at a Stand-Still in the 1980s

by Gary Orfield

School desegregation has been the dormant issue in educational policy discussions in the 1980s. It is no longer front-page news, nor can it claim the progress it achieved from the mid-1960s to the early 1970s, particularly throughout the South. In our view, however, it is a vital, effective policy that has proven surprisingly resilient to the political hostility or indifference of the past four presidential administrations.

In the first term of the Reagan administration, a period of federal hostility to urban desegregation, there was no major trend toward greater or lesser school desegregation. (See graph on page 6, which shows national and regional trends from 1968 to 1984.) Even more significant, however, are the data we have collected which show that desegregation plans have been successful for a generation in many cities that adopted such plans. Conversely, as our data also show, schools in areas without desegregation plans became increasingly segregated along racial lines. Our data also identify a relatively unnoticed trend: high and increasing segregation among Hispanics.

High Integration, Low Black Enrollment

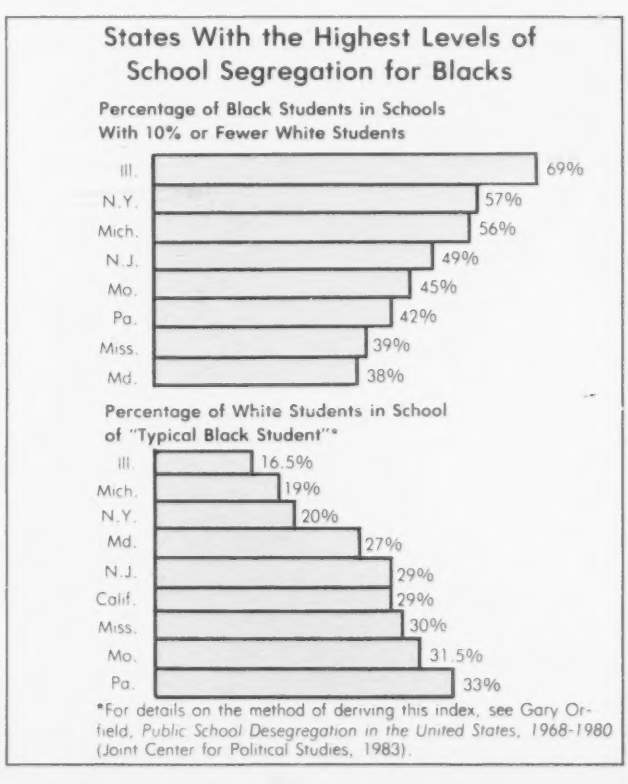
The states with the most integrated schools tend to have few black students. Of the 11 states in which more than half of the black students attend predominantly white schools, only 3 have high levels of black student enrollment—Delaware (25.8 percent), Florida (23.1 percent), and North Carolina (30.0 percent). The other most integrated states are Oklahoma, Kansas, Washington, Colorado, Nevada, and Rhode Island, all of which have black student populations of less than 10 percent, and Indiana and Kentucky, where black students are almost 11 percent of the population.

A number of these states with highly integrated schools were subject to court-ordered metropolitan desegregation plans. In Delaware and Kentucky, for instance, court orders virtually eliminated segregated education in the largest cities, Wilmington and Louisville; as a result, by 1984, 91 percent of black students in Kentucky and 94 percent of black students in Delaware attended predominantly white schools. Similarly, in North Carolina, the 1971 Charlotte city-suburban desegregation plan (the first in the nation) achieved a high level of integration. Shortly after the Charlotte plan was adopted, Florida began to desegregate most of the schools in its large metropolitan areas, with lasting success.

Northern Segregation

As the graph on this page shows, the states with the most segregated schools are in the North. The three states with the highest levels of school segregation include two of the old hotbeds of abolitionism, Illinois

(Continued on p. 6)


States With the Highest Levels of School Segregation for Blacks
Percentage of Black Students in Schools With 10% or Fewer White Students
Ill. 69%
N.Y. 57%
Mich. 56%
N.J. 49%
Mo. 45%
Pa. 42%
Miss. 39%
Md. 38%
Percentage of White Students in School of "Typical Black Student"*
Ill. 16.5%
Mich. 19%
N.Y. 20%
Md. 27%
N.J. 29%
Calif. 29%
Miss. 30%
Mo. 31.5%
Pa. 33%
*For details on the method of deriving this index, see Gary Orfield, Public School Desegregation in the United States, 1968-1980 (Joint Center for Political Studies, 1983).

(Continued from p. 5)

Those Who Were Bussed Liked It

Perhaps the most surprising aspect of school desegregation policy has been the development, in the 1980s, of a major public opinion trend in favor of school busing.

The Harris Survey, showing a shift of opinion between 1981 and 1986, reports that 71 percent of all families whose children were bussed said the experience was "very satisfactory." The survey also found that 66 percent of blacks, 58 percent of Hispanics, and 36 percent of whites now support busing; among those under 30, a majority of Americans support busing.

Among recent college freshmen—those most likely to have been bussed throughout their schooling—support for busing has risen in the last several years, from 45.8 percent in 1980 to 54.4 percent in 1985 to 56.1 percent in 1986, according to an annual survey by the American Council of Education.

The 1987 American Chicklet Youth Poll, conducted by the Roper Organization, found that students aged 8-17 favored busing by a margin of 64 percent to 23 percent, with 13 percent expressing no opinion. In other words, almost three-fourths of those who expressed an opinion favored busing.

and Michigan, and a pioneer in modern civil rights law, New York.

Each of these three states is characterized by segregated residential areas, fragmented school districts within large metropolitan areas, and the absence of any city-suburban desegregation plans in their largest metropolitan areas. For instance, New York, Detroit, and Chicago have neither a comprehensive plan within their overwhelmingly minority central city school systems nor a voluntary program for the exchange of students with suburban school districts.

The other states with [illegible] most segregated schools are New Jersey, California, [illegible]vlvania, Missouri, Maryland, and Mississip[illegible]ich is the only state from the Deep South in this group. Mississippi, it is worth noting, has a greater proportion of black students (50.4 percent) and is more integrated than all the northern states listed here, except Maryland.

Hispanic Segregation Trends

Though school segregation has been widely understood as a problem for blacks, it is now an issue that should concern Hispanics as well. Today, black students are less likely than Hispanic students to attend a class where less than half the students are white; in addition, the level of segregated schooling for blacks is much less than it was in 1968, but for Hispanics it is higher.

Segregation is high in the states where most Hispanic children are enrolled in schools, as shown in the following table:

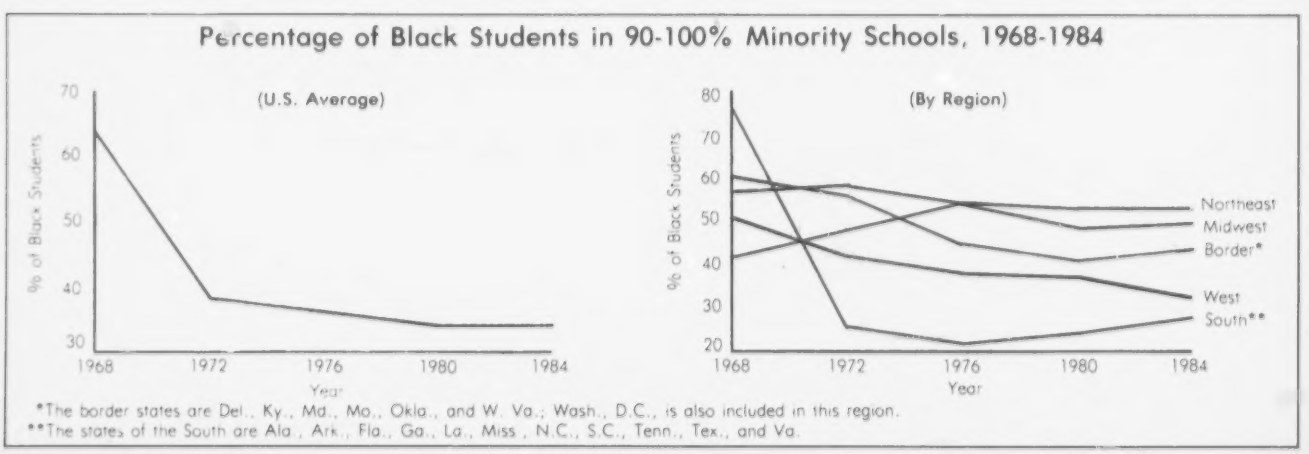
Percentage of Hispanics in Schools Where Enrollment Is . . .

	Less Than 50% White	*Less Than 10% White*
New York	85	59
Illinois	80	41
Texas	78	40
California	74	27
Florida	68	26

Not only is Hispanic segregation high, but it has been growing rapidly in California, Florida, and Illinois and has remained at very high levels in New York and Texas.

The most integrated state with a substantial Hispanic enrollment was Colorado, where 53 percent of the Hispanic students attended predominantly white schools. Not surprisingly, the largest city in the state, Denver, has been under a mandatory desegregation court order since 1973, when the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that Hispanics were legally entitled to desegregation remedies.

In summary, Hispanic segregation levels continued to



*The border states are Del., Ky., Md., Mo., Okla., and W. Va.; Wash., D.C., is also included in this region.
**The states of the South are Ala., Ark., Fla., Ga., La., Miss., N.C., S.C., Tenn., Tex., and Va.

increase for the entire period for which data are available and for almost all regions of the country. Unlike segregation for blacks, which is subject to court orders, the isolation of Hispanics looks much more like a product of long-established and deeply rooted patterns. There has been very little organized effort to reverse this trend.

Variation Among Cities

As the following table shows, there are vast differences in the levels of desegregation in urban areas. What explains these differences? The answer is that the cities with the most integrated schools were under large-scale, mandatory, city-suburban desegregation plans while the others, with exceptions to be explained later, have never had a major, mandatory, city-wide or metropolitan busing plan.

Among the cities with the least school integration, Miami and Houston have had limited busing plans—but they were of a very strange nature. In both cases, Hispanics were counted as whites; low-income blacks were bused to low-income Hispanic schools, and vice-versa; and white middle-class schools were substantially untouched. In Memphis, too, there was a busing plan, but it proved to be ineffective when local leaders created a very large, parallel, private school system.

In Detroit and Philadelphia, the desegregation plans are limited to the central city school districts and do not include busing to the suburbs. The Philadelphia plan is completely voluntary. In St. Louis, a combined mandatory and magnet plan is in effect and, since 1984, has showed some positive effects, which are not reported in the table.

Policy Issues

There are at least three reasons to think that the time has come to again place school desegregation in the forefront of national politics. First, there is very broad support in American public opinion for the general ideal of integrated education. Second, national surveys have revealed major shifts in public opinion in favor of school busing, particularly among those who have been bussed and among the young. (See box on page 6.) Third, a growing body of research shows that integrated education has positive effects on college-going and college-completion, on obtaining jobs in growth sectors of the economy, and on the likelihood of living in integrated communities as adults.

A more urgent reason, however, is the deepening isolation of children growing up in inner city ghettos and barrios, who attend schools that are almost totally segregated by race and class. The children from these schools usually have almost no real connection to any paths of mobility in education and employment; it may well be that they are even more totally isolated from the mainstream middle-class society and economy than were southern black children during Jim Crow segregation.

Levels of School Integration in Cities

City	*% of Whites in School of Typical Black Student**	*Mandatory Busing Plan*
Most Integrated		
Tampa-St. Petersburg, Fla.	66.3	Yes
Wilmington, Del.	65.7	Yes
Louisville, Ky.	65.4	Yes
Minneapolis, Minn.	63.2	Yes
Greenville, S.C.	61.1	Yes
Greensboro, N.C.	57.6	Yes
Indianapolis, Ind.	56.2	Yes
Columbus, Ohio	53.0	Yes
Orlando, Fla.	51.1	Yes
Milwaukee, Wis.	34.5	No
Boston, Mass.	31.9	Yes
Cincinnati, Ohio	31.5	No
Least Integrated		
Chicago, Ill.	8.6	No
Newark, N.J.	8.7	No
Detroit, Mich.	9.2	Yes
New York, N.Y.	11.4	No
Baltimore, Md.	15.8	No
St. Louis, Mo.	16.0	Yes
Miami, Fla.	16.1	No
Philadelphia, Pa.	16.6	No
Atlanta, Ga.	17.2	No
New Orleans, La.	18.0	No
Memphis, Tenn.	18.4	Yes
Houston, Tex.	19.0	No

*For details on the method of deriving this index, see Gary Orfield, *Public School Desegregation in the United States, 1968-1980* (Joint Center for Political Studies, 1983).

The time is ripe for a national effort to halt the trend towards segregated urban schools for large numbers of blacks and Hispanics. If separate and unequal schools aroused this nation to act against Jim Crow in the fifties and sixties, we should be doing no less today to help the most needy in the urban ghettos and barrios that are growing more and more segregated with each passing school year. School desegregation is far from a panacea for unequal education, but no urban community has yet been able to produce segregated schools that are equal. ■

JCPS Visiting Scholar Will Study Middle-Class Black Families

Dr. Bart Landry, associate professor of sociology at the University of Maryland, joined the Joint Center as a visiting scholar in June. During his stay, Landry will conduct research on the black middle class family for a book in progress. He will also write a JCPS monograph on the black middle class family.

Landry will also serve as an advisor on the JCPS study of the "Changing Black Family: Children at Risk." At present, he is organizing a conference on this subject, which is scheduled for November 12-14, 1987. 'Our goal is to compile a definitive statement of our present knowledge of the changing black family, and to point to needed areas of research,' said Landry. This conference will bring together scholars from around the nation to explore recent changes in the black family structure, particularly the increase in female-headed households.

Dr. Landry's recently published book, *The New Black Middle Class* (University of California Press), received a very favorable review in the June 7, 1987, book review section of the *New York Times*. ■

Fifth National Policy Institute Will Be Held In January 1988

Over 1000 black elected and appointed officials are expected to attend the Fifth National Policy Institute, a JCPS-sponsored conference that will be held at the Grand Hyatt Hotel, Washington, D.C., January 20-23, 1988. The purpose of the conference is to share information and develop strategies to address public policy issues of critical concern to the black community.

The conference will include issue forums, panel discussions, and plenary sessions. Among the presenters will be noted elected and appointed officials, scholars, civil rights activists, corporate and labor leaders, and many others.

The following organizations are co-sponsors of the conference: the National Conference of Black Mayors, the National Black Caucus of State Legislators, the National Association of Black County Officials, the Congressional Black Caucus, the Judicial Council of the National Bar Association, the National Black Caucus of Local Elected Officials, and the National Caucus of Black School Board members.

For more information, please contact Russell Owens, director of the National Policy Institute at JCPS. ■

Get Out the Vote With New JCPS Book

Strategies for Mobilizing Black Voters, the Joint Center's latest publication, is a unique and timely documentation of the kinds of strategies and programs that are most likely to produce dramatic increases in the number of black Americans who vote.

"Black voters are a growing force in American politics. This study is a valuable guide for organizations that seek to mobilize the black vote and for candidates who seek to win that vote," said JCPS president Eddie N. Williams.

The monograph consists of case studies of four remarkably successful voter mobilization efforts which resulted in the election of black mayors in Birmingham, Chicago, and Philadelphia, and which substantially increased black political participation in the 2d Congressional District (Durham) in North Carolina.

Copies of the study may be purchased for $8.95 from the Publications Office, JCPS, 1301 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20004. Telephone: (202) 626-3500. ■

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High Court Ruling Blocks Challenge to Bias Throughout Criminal Justice System

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Many Displaced Workers Were Reemployed But With Less Pay

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Educational Reform and the Corporate Sector

In a recent speech to the senior management of a major American corporation, I addressed an issue that is of enormous significance to the future economic well-being of the black community as well as to the bottom-line concerns of the corporate sector.

The starting point of my speech was that the demographics of the work force in the year 2000 will be very different from what we see today. The overall work force will shrink and a larger proportion will be minority workers. In fact, by the year 2000, women, immigrants, and minorities will comprise 80 percent of all new labor force entrants. However, a large proportion of minorities are unlikely to be effective contributors to the future work force unless we take dramatic and immediate steps to correct current trends that threaten to impede their full participation in the American economy.

Among the most important of these trends is that minorities are less likely than others to finish high school and less likely to pursue mathematics and scientific training, areas that are becoming increasingly important. Minorities also perceive major obstacles to their advancement in the private sector, especially in the technical fields.

The new demographics show that the challenge to our educational system (and, therefore, to the economy and national security) has never been greater. Black and Hispanic youngsters, in particular, are being shortchanged in their preparation to assume a greater share of responsibility for the nation's future—a future that rests on a more technologically sophisticated economy.

Until recently, the private sector has been content to let government take the lead in developing and implementing programs to combat these problems, which may not have ranked very high on the corporate agenda. However, it is becoming apparent that corporations must play a major role from now on.

The challenge I see is for business to become more directly involved in the issues of education reform. Such direct involvement need not only flow out of humanitarian, moral, or civil rights concerns. It should flow out of reasons of self-interest. If the work force is not qualified to be productive, businesses cannot be productive, competitive, and profitable. And that's a *bottom line* for you!

It has been said that the number one concern of business is business. Increasingly, it appears that the number one concern is or ought to be education.

In getting more involved, businesses must adopt a push-pull attitude. They must *push* public officials to adopt a more realistic vision of our educational needs and to make a strong commitment to making educational reform a national priority. And they must *pull* previously excluded Americans up through the educational system and into employment opportunities.

The time to act is now. The high school graduating class of the year 2000 will soon enter first grade. As Ford Foundation President Franklin Thomas said recently, "We must act for the sake of this new generation, and for our own sake as well [with the] understanding that when we help our neighbors we help ourselves. That awareness should help light our way."

Eddie N. Williams

PRESIDENT

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The Death Penalty: Is Georgia's System Racist?

High Court Ruling Blocks Challenge to Bias Throughout Criminal Justice System

by Julius L. Chambers

Editor's note: *On April 22, 1987, the U.S. Supreme Court handed down a landmark decision which some civil-rights advocates believe is as harmful to blacks as was the infamous* Dred Scott *case, which upheld the legality of slavery. In this case,* McCleskey v. Kemp, *the Court rejected a challenge to Georgia's capital punishment law, even though statistics showed that death sentences in Georgia murder cases are imposed in a clear pattern that could not be explained by any factor other than race. (See "A Lawyer's Candid Assessment," in the box on page 4; and the "Resolution of the Black Leadership Forum" in the box on page 5.)*

Warren McCleskey, the criminal defendant in this case, was granted a stay of execution on July 9, 1987 (five days before his scheduled execution), after his attorneys produced new evidence that the police had secretly and illegally used an informant to interview him, after McCleskey had been assigned counsel. The judge is expected to overturn McCleskey's conviction (of murdering a policeman) and to grant his request for a new trial.

In this excerpt from a speech to the Metropolitan Atlanta Crime Commission on July 21, 1987, Julius L. Chambers, director-counsel for the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., which brought the suit against Georgia, explains the fuller implications of this decision.

Over the past several years, as overt expressions of intentional discrimination have submerged, the Supreme Court has established proof-of-discrimination standards that focus increasingly on a showing that the disputed action has disproportionate consequences for blacks. In the 1986 term, for instance, the Court considered the question of statistical proof in employment discrimination claims in a case brought by the NAACP Legal Defense Fund. The Court held in that case, *Bazemore v. Friday*, that a disproportionate-impact statistical analysis, in contrast to a requirement that intentional discrimination be proved, is sufficient to establish a claim of discrimination in employment cases. One has to ask why the Court infers discrimination from statistics showing a degree of disparate racial impact in contexts such as employment, voting rights, and housing that is lower than established in *McCleskey*, but is unwilling to accept it in instances where life and death are literally at stake.

One reason is the reluctance or inability of the Court and other Americans to accept the role that racial discrimination has played in shaping our history and our system of criminal justice. As Justice Thurgood Marshall noted recently, the Constitution as originally adopted "guarantee[d] liberty and justice to all and den[ied] both" to blacks. We the people still suffer from this conflict between our stated ideal of equality for all under the law and the reality of slavery and unequal treatment for blacks. This disparity is seen in white America's continuing propensity to overlook or ignore the evidence that discrimination still permeates all of our legal, social, and governmental institutions. Anyone who doubts it need only review the recent news reports of racially motivated violence against blacks in Georgia and in New York, in North Carolina and in Massachusetts, in pizza parlors and on college campuses, in rural enclaves in the South and on city streets in the North.

Are Racial Disparities Inevitable?

Justice Powell, writing for the five-member majority, concedes that discrepancies in death sentencing in Georgia correlate closely with race, but says such disparities "are an inevitable part of our criminal justice system." The Court refused to act, even though the evidence showed that Georgia's administration of capital punishment fails to meet even the standards the Court set in 1972 in *Furman v. Georgia*, which proscribed the imposition of capital punishment in an arbitrary or capricious manner.

Justice Powell suggested several factors that motivated his decision.

First, he said that capital sentencing decisions are made by a lot of different actors, and even if the result is discriminatory, it does not necessarily prove that any one of the decision-makers *intended* to discriminate.

Second, he said that capital punishment laws are important to protect society. He found public support for capital punishment with enactment of capital punish-

(Continued on page 4)

A Lawyer's Candid Assessment

(An excerpt from the dissenting opinion of Justice William Brennan, which was joined by Justices Thurgood Marshall, Harry Blackmun, and John Paul Stevens.)

At some point in this case, Warren McCleskey doubtless asked his lawyer whether a jury was likely to sentence him to die. A candid reply to this question would have been disturbing. First, counsel would have to tell McCleskey that few of the details of the crime or of McCleskey's past criminal conduct were more important than the fact that his victim was white. Furthermore, counsel would feel bound to tell McCleskey that defendants charged with killing white victims in Georgia are 4.3 times as likely to be sentenced to death as defendants charged with killing blacks. In addition, frankness would compel the disclosure that it was more likely than not that the race of McCleskey's victim would determine whether he received the death sentence: 6 of every 11 defendants convicted of killing a white person would not have received the death penalty if their victims had been black, while, among defendants with aggravating and mitigating factors comparable to McCleskey, 20 of every 34 would not have been sentenced to die if their victims had been black. Finally, the assessment would not be complete without the information that cases involving black defendants and white victims are more likely to result in a death sentence than cases featuring any other racial combination of defendant and victim.

The story could be told in a number of ways, but McCleskey could not fail to grasp its essential narrative line: there was a significant chance that race would play a prominent role in determining if he lived or died.

(Continued from page 3)

ment statutes in 37 states following *Furman*—even though there may be some evidence of discrimination in imposition of the death penalty. Because implementation of the death penalty requires discretion, he said, "exceptionally clear proof" would be needed before assuming that the discretion has been abused.

Third, he said that accepting McCleskey's claim would open up the whole criminal justice system to challenge and might necessitate similar relief in other non-capital cases.

The four-member minority in *McCleskey* considered and rejected all of these factors. Regarding discretion in capital sentencing, Justice Brennan's dissent cited the Court's own past rulings in *Batson, Lockett,* and *Woodson* to show that "[w]hen confronted with evidence that race more likely than not plays such a role in a capital-sentencing system, it is plainly insufficient to say that the importance of discretion demands that the risk be higher before we will act—for in such a case the very end that discretion is designed to serve is being undermined." Brennan noted that the majority's fear that "recognition of McCleskey's claim would 'open the door to widespread challenges to all aspects of criminal sentencing'. . . seems to suggest a fear of too much justice. . ." The prospect that there may be more widespread abuse than McCleskey documents "may be dismaying," Justice Brennan continued, "but it does not justify complete abdication of our judicial role. The Constitution was framed fundamentally as a bulwark against governmental power, and preventing the arbitrary administration of punishment is a basic ideal of any society that purports to be governed by the rule of law."

The *Dred Scott* Parallel

There are haunting and ominous parallels between the Court's decision in *McCleskey v. Kemp* and the infamous *Dred Scott* decision 130 years ago. In yielding to pressure to preserve the institution of slavery, *Dred Scott* declared that black people were not "citizens" protected by the Constitution. "It is not the province of the court to decide upon the justice or injustice, the policy or impolicy of these laws," the Court said in *Dred Scott.* "The decision of that question belonged to the political or law-making power."

In *McCleskey,* the Court allows the lives of white people to be valued over the lives of black people and shows a willingness to tolerate racism in the system because of society's interest in fighting crime. "It is not the responsibility—or even the right—of this Court to determine the appropriate punishment for particular crimes," Justice Powell wrote. "It is the legislatures, the elected representatives of the people, that are 'constituted to respond to the will and consequently the moral values of the people.'"

Ways to Address the Problem

This leads me to my final point. I am disturbed that we are here discussing whether Georgia's system is racist. The evidence clearly demonstrates the racial implications of Georgia's capital sentencing practices. I would have hoped that we would have been discussing ways to address the problem and to make Georgia's criminal justice system a model for the nation.

We at the NAACP Legal Defense Fund believe that capital punishment should be abolished, but even if that is not possible there are a number of reforms that should be implemented to eliminate the obvious racial implications of the present system. One suggested by Justice Stevens in his dissent in *McCleskey* is to limit imposition of the death penalty to a narrow range of the most egregious of cases. Any evidence that factors other than guilt, heinousness, and moral culpability have influenced the decision to impose a death sentence should be disturbing to even the most ardent supporters of capital punishment.

The second thing we can do is develop uniform standards for district attorneys in deciding which cases should be pursued for capital punishment. Today, this

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August 1987

JCPS

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER

Inside This Issue

- **Republican presidential contenders are making a strong pitch for black votes in 1988, but their task is made difficult by the GOP's low credibility among blacks.**
- **For the first time since 1976, the League of Women Voters will not be the sole sponsor of the presidential debates; both parties have also made plans to stage debates in 1988.**
- **In a campaign that has to-date lacked a serious discussion of the issues, Baltimore will elect its first black mayor in history. State's Attorney Kurt Schmoke is favored to win.**
- **Will more blacks be elected to Congress in 1988? *TL* lists the best bets.**
- **Across the nation, Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley tries to mend a rift with the Jewish community; black leaders in Dekalb County, Georgia, are dissatisfied with Governor Joe Harris's choice to be the first black trial judge in the county; New York's two U.S. senators are accused of not recommending blacks for federal judgeships; and blacks in Milwaukee are seeking a candidate for the mayoral race in 1988.**

The GOP and Black Voters: A New Strategy for 1988?

As reported previously in *TL*, some Democratic party strategists seem inclined toward wooing conservative whites and southerners at the expense of blacks in the belief that their party cannot win a presidential election in which more than 15 percent of its electoral support comes from blacks. If this assessment is correct, there will be a "window of opportunity" in the 1988 presidential campaign for the Republican party to convince a substantial number of black Democrats to switch parties. In speeches to the Republican party faithful, the press, and black audiences, **several of the leading GOP presidential contenders have begun to make a strong pitch for black votes. What are their chances of succeeding? Are black voters, 89 percent of whom supported the Democratic presidential nominee in 1984, likely to switch?** Let's look at some of the critical factors bearing on this question.

Why would blacks be willing to switch? **WILBUR COLOM,** a 37-year-old black lawyer who is the unopposed Republican nominee for state treasurer in Mississippi, gave two reasons to *Washington Post* columnist WILLIAM RASPBERRY: **"First, I'm concerned about...the trend that has blacks rapidly segregating themselves into the Democratic party—and out of power.** It's dangerous to be in the position of being able to articulate our disagreement only from the outside. **The second reason is that I honestly don't believe that conservatives are the nemesis of black people....What I see now is a black leadership that cannot move us to the next step: economic parity."** These reasons have considerable merit. A JCPS/Gallup poll in 1986, for instance, found that many blacks felt the civil rights leadership was "moving too slowly." However, the GOP's task will not be easy: a *Washington Post* poll in January 1986 showed that 77 percent of blacks said the Republicans "do not care" about the problems of black people; and, in the JCPS/Gallup survey, more than 80 percent of blacks said they were likely to vote for the Democratic presidential nominee in 1988.

How credible is the GOP courtship of blacks? The GOP has several major hurdles to overcome. Among the most significant are the distaste many blacks have for the Reagan administration; the ill-fated "ballot security" program which was aimed at purging the voter rolls of blacks in the 1986 U.S. Senate and congressional elections in Louisiana; and the strong and historic association between blacks and the Democratic party. **Yet, just as blacks**

deserted the "party of Lincoln" when FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT'S economic policies attracted them (as historian NANCY WEISS has argued), they may be willing to come back home to the GOP if the right package of economic benefits is offered. One GOP candidate who has begun to frame a credible appeal is New York Congressman JACK KEMP, who told reporters in Georgia: "We are the natural home of the black voter. We can't put America back to work until we put black America back to work. The way to do that is to reach out to the black vote by being interested in those things that affect their lives—jobs, housing, education, voting rights." . . .Another reason for taking the GOP seriously is that party leaders have learned the lesson of the 1986 midterm elections in which blacks helped the Democrats recapture the U.S. Senate. As Senate Minority Leader BOB DOLE (R-Kans.) said to a convention of Georgia Republicans: "I want the Republican party to grow. **Someone asked me, 'Why did we lose four Senate seats in the South?' I'll tell you why. It'll take one minute. We didn't get any of the black vote. You have to deal with the realities in America. The reality is, if you spot someone 95 percent [i.e., the percentage of blacks voting for the Democrats] you have a tough row to hoe."** . . .Whether this is more than campaign rhetoric is the decision left for black voters. In prior elections blacks have shown they are willing to support moderate Republican candidates, including former Maryland Senator CHARLES MATHIAS, Pennsylvania Senator ARLEN SPECTER, New Jersey Governor THOMAS KEAN, Cleveland Mayor GEORGE VOINOVICH, and Atlantic City Mayor JAMES USRY—to name just a few. **The ongoing problem for Republicans is that a political party cannot expect black support unless that party first offers some reason for black support. Whether the Republicans will offer a persuasive reason remains to be seen. . . .** One prominent black Republican, businessman ARTHUR FLETCHER, already knows what he wants: "My goal is to be at the very top of every presidential candidate's list for vice-president," he told Republican colleagues in a letter. As a means of reaching his goal, Fletcher is thinking of declaring himself a candidate for the presidency.

Is there a relevant historical analogy? Yes, in the election of 1912, when black voters were considered as "reflexively" Republican as many consider them to be "reflexively" Democratic today, **NAACP leaders MONROE TROTTER and W.E.B. DUBOIS called for blacks to support the candidacy of Democrat WOODROW WILSON. Though the Republicans out-polled Wilson in the black community, the Democratic nominee succeeded in obtaining a significant number of black votes—approximately 25 percent.** The NAACP monthly organ, *Crisis*, wrote, "We have helped call to power . . .a scholar and a gentleman." By 1913, however, Wilson, the scholar and gentleman, had introduced laws to segregate federal employment. By 1914, President Wilson's black supporters were thoroughly disillusioned, and the NAACP, in an open letter, broke with Wilson, signalling an end to blacks' two-party strategy.

As some analysts see it, today's GOP call for blacks to pursue a two-party strategy—in the absence of a Republican party platform that is beneficial to blacks—may be just as shortsighted as it was in the early 1900s. However, this prospect is unlikely to deter the GOP presidential candidates and their black Republican supporters from seeking to capitalize on the Democrats' apparent benign neglect of blacks. They may get some brownie points from the Reagan administration's recent appointment of three black women in the U.S. Department of Education—BONNIE GUITON, assistant secretary for Vocational Education, BERYL DORSETT, assistant secretary for Elementary and Secondary Education, and LEGREE DANIELS, assistant secretary for Civil Rights—and from the appointment of Lt. General COLIN L. POWELL, one of only seven three-star black generals, as the number two honcho in the National Security Council in the aftermath of the Iran-Contra fiasco.

Presidential Debates: How Many in 1988?

How many presidential debates will there be in 1988, and who will sponsor them? **The answer at this time is eight debates in the general election (and perhaps more during the primaries), four to be sponsored by the League of Women Voters and four by the bi-partisan Commission on Presidential Debates,** which is headed by Republican National Committee Chairman FRANK J. FAHRENKOPF, JR., and Democratic National Committee Chairman PAUL KIRK. To add to the confusion, the league has named four sites (Birmingham, Boston, Los Angeles, and Minneapolis) but not the dates, while the bi-partisan commission has announced only the dates (September 14 and 25, and October 11 and 27, 1988.) All the current presidential candidates in both parties have agreed to participate in the bi-partisan commission debates, but a spokesperson for the league said, "Ultimately, the party nominees will decide [which debates to participate in]. They tell the party chairman what to do, not the other way around." The league's position, supported by a lot of voters, is that presidential debates are too important to be left to the political parties.

Little Fanfare in Historic Mayoral Election in Baltimore

The mayoral race in Baltimore has to this date been a contest without a battle, a history-making event without fanfare, an election without issues. Though voters this year will elect the city's first black mayor there has been neither a rousing Chicago-like "Come Alive on November 5" voter registration drive nor a celebration of black empowerment. **In the first sign that there may be some life to this election, the two candidates, State's Attorney KURT SCHMOKE and incumbent (appointed) Mayor CLARENCE (DU) BURNS, agreed to a televised debate on August 28, two weeks before the September 15 Democratic primary. The debate is being sponsored by the League of Women Voters and WMAR- TV....Though the debate may liven the election, the polls have all but eliminated any suspense regarding the outcome.** In an August 2 *Baltimore Sun* poll of potential Democratic voters, SCHMOKE led BURNS by 56 percent to 27 percent (with 17 percent supporting others or undecided)—a margin that has stayed unchanged since an earlier *Sun* poll in April. Schmoke prevailed over Burns among blacks (63 percent to 26 percent) and among whites (48 percent to 30 percent).

A more lively election, according to political observers, is the race for city council president which features two white and one black candidate. **The polls show that blacks are willing to vote for a white candidate (despite a campaign by the Baltimore *Afro-American* to have a unified black vote), but whites are unwilling to back a black candidate.** In the lead, according to the *Sun* poll, is MARY PAT CLARKE, a white liberal favored by 33 percent of blacks and 48 percent of whites. The black candidate, state delegate LARRY YOUNG, was the choice of 36 percent of blacks but only 5 percent of whites. The other major candidate is HARRY MCGUIRK, Governor DONALD SCHAEFFER'S choice, who was preferred by 2 percent of blacks and 20 percent of whites....The three candidates for city council president will participate in a televised debate on August 30.

The Best Bets for Electing More Blacks to Congress

There is no shortage of blacks who want to run for Congress but few open seats are available. **Because challenging an incumbent is a high-risk venture, potential candidates would do well to look out for seats that become vacant due to death, retirement, or (a reflection of the times) the onset of legal problems.** *TL* offers this list of the "best bets" for black candidates seeking election to Congress...New Jersey: Popular incumbent Rep. PETER RODINO (D-10th district, Newark), it is rumored, has promised to retire. **If he does, a black is almost assured of winning this 54 percent black district.** Newark City Councilman RALPH GRANT has announced he is running; and City Councilman DONALD PAYNE (who lost to Rodino in 1986) and several other black candidates are also expected to run. Louisiana: There is little speculation that Rep. LINDY BOGGS (D-2d district, New Orleans) is planning to retire, but if she does, **attorney MARC MORIAL (the son of former New Orleans Mayor ERNEST "DUTCH" MORIAL) may be the candidate.** (The former mayor was once considered the odds-on favorite to win this seat.)...In the 8th district (Alexandria), **FAYE WILLIAMS, who lost by fewer than 5,000 votes in 1986, plans to run again. Given the lackluster qualifications and performance of the Republican incumbent, Williams has an excellent chance of defeating him**—if her campaign is adequately financed. As several women candidates proved in 1986 [e.g., Sen. BARBARA MIKULSKI (D-Md.), Rep. CONNIE MORELLA (R-Md.)], women often win the second time around. North Carolina: According to LAVONIA ALLISON, former president of the North Carolina Black Leadership Caucus, **blacks are searching for a candidate in the 36 percent black 2d congressional district (Durham), where black candidates in two previous primaries were narrowly defeated in runoffs.** South Carolina: The 2d District (Columbia) might also be a good bet for a black candidate. Some observers believe Republican Rep. FLOYD SPENCE is considering retiring. **In this 32 percent black district, a strong black voter registration and turnout campaign, linked to a black candidate who could appeal to liberal and moderate white voters, might produce a winner.** Tennessee: In Memphis, **Congressman Harold Ford (D),** who has been indicted on tax and bank fraud charges involving $350,000 that was allegedly diverted to him from banks controlled by convicted financiers Jake and C. H. Butcher, **may be vulnerable because of his legal problems.** But don't count a Ford out of the Bluff City's future. Mississippi: **A seat may open up in the 4th district (Jackson) if octogenarian Senator JOHN STENNIS (D) retires and Rep. WAYNE DOWDY, who now represents the 4th district, decides to run for the Senate.** A black candidate might emerge in this 37 percent black district. New York: If Rep. ROBERT GARCIA, (D-18th district, South Bronx), retires as a result of his legal problems, **a black or Hispanic candidate is likely to emerge in this 44 percent black, 49 percent Hispanic district.**

Across the Nation

CALIFORNIA: Los Angeles Mayor TOM BRADLEY, whose relationship with the Jewish community has recently been strained, has ordered the city attorney's office to find some way of breaking black Muslim leader LOUIS FARRAKHAN'S contract to use the Los Angeles Convention Center for a speaking engagement next month. According to Bradley, "racial bigotry, racial hatred, or religious hatred of any kind are unwelcome in the city of Los Angeles." (In a 1985 speech in Los Angeles, Farrakhan called Israel a "wicked hypocrisy.")....Bradley, who started his political career in the 1950s with a group of liberal young Jewish activists in the California Democratic Council volunteer movement, may hope that his anti-Farrakhan stance will mend his ties to Jews. **A *Los Angeles Times* poll, however, shows that Farrakhan may not be the critical issue: Bradley is losing Jewish support because Jews no longer agree with his handling of "quality of life" concerns raised by the city's emerging slow-growth movement.**

CONNECTICUT: Though *TL* reported last month that state Sen. MARGARET E. MORTON had a good chance of becoming the first black woman elected to Congress from Connecticut, the winner in the 4th district was CHRISTINE NIEDERMEIER, a former representative in the Connecticut House. **Morton got 28 percent of the total vote; Niedermeier got 53 percent. Blacks are only 9 percent of the voting-age population in the district.** Only about one of every four registered Democrats voted....Niedermeier did well in suburban areas and did better than expected in Bridgetown, Morton's home base.

GEORGIA: Influential black leaders in Dekalb County, particularly state Sen. EUGENE WALKER (D-43d), have voiced displeasure over Governor JOE FRANK HARRIS'S appointment of black assistant district attorney LINDA WARREN HUNTER to one of two vacancies on the state court in Dekalb County. Walker and other black and white leaders had recommended Recorders Court Judge MIKE HANCOCK for the post, but Hancock was not even included among the final nominees. **Walker says the governor mishandled a fine opportunity to make meaningful the appointment of DeKalb's first black trial judge....**Hunter, a graduate of the University of Georgia Law School, had been an assistant district attorney for three years.

ILLINOIS: In East St. Louis, **incumbent Mayor Carl Officer defeated six challengers and was reelected to a third term with 60 percent of the vote,** according to early, unofficial returns. The voters also approved, by a 2-1 margin, a referendum that would cut the size of the city council over which Officer presides. The first election that will cut the city council will be held in 1989.

In other news, black leaders from 12 states met in Chicago in early July to help Illinois State Comptroller ROLAND BURRIS plan strategies to place more blacks in statewide elected or appointed office, according to a report in the *East St. Louis Monitor*. "Right now there are only five of us in the whole country," Burris said. This was the second meeting of the group, the National Forum of State Leaders (NFSL), which was organized by the Democratic National Committee in April.

LOUISIANA: New Orleans Mayor SIDNEY BARTHELEMY was named by acclamation as president of the National Association of Regional Councils (NARC) at its annual meeting in Reno, Nevada, in May. As president, Barthelemy will serve as chief spokesman for regional issues such as economic development, job training, human resources, transit, and employment.

MASSACHUSETTS: At its annual meeting in Boston in mid-July, **the National Association of Secretaries of State called for states to eliminate barriers to voter registration by adopting the following reforms:** mail-in (postcard) registration; day-of- election registration; agency-based registration, in which public employees offer registration forms and assistance to citizens doing business in state offices; and a centralized, computerized registry of voters in each state.

NEW YORK: Republican U.S. Senator ALFONSE D'AMATO'S choice of a white Nassau County State Supreme Court justice to replace a retiring black federal court judge has drawn criticism from the **retiring judge, HENRY BRAMWELL, who accused both D'Amato and his Senate colleague, DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN (D), of showing a "callous disregard" for blacks by failing to recommend them for judgeships,** according to a report in *Newsday*....By tradition, federal judgeship nominees are recommended by senators of the same party as the president. But the two New York senators have agreed to let Republican D'Amato select three candidates for every one recommended by Democrat Moynihan. **D'Amato has never recommended a black for appointment. Moynihan has recommended one, MARY JOHNSON LOWER, for the U.S. District Court in the Southern District of New York.**

VIRGINIA: Since his historic election in 1985, Lt. Gov. Doug Wilder has repeatedly been in the news for his views on some controversial issues. **"Let the chips fall where they might," he said in a July 16 speech in Norfolk. "There are no 'black' public officials under criminal investigation or 'white' public officials under criminal investigation. A public official is a public official; a guilty criminal is a guilty criminal.** I ask you: Do the victims of crime, or those hurt by official lawlessness, suffer any less or greater due to the color of the victimizer?"....In another recent example, the first recipient of a grant from the Underdog Fund he established in 1985 is lawyer J. Jack Kennedy, a white male Democratic nominee for the Virginia House of Delegates. The *Washington Post* reported that Kennedy's opponent was "a white Republican woman [running in]...a district that is believed to have never elected a Republican or a woman to the legislature." **In explaining the award, Wilder said the term underdog "takes a lot of flavors. I was an underdog even though I had no opposition."**

WISCONSIN: Black political leaders in Milwaukee have formed a committee to search for a black mayoral candidate for the February 16, 1988, primary, according to Alderman MICHAEL MCGEE (D-10th district). **Potential black candidates include County Supervisor TERRANCE PITTS, Sheriff RICHARD ARTISON, City Clerk BEN JOHNSON, and head of the Social Development Commission, DONALD SYKES. Other possible candidates are HOWARD FULLER, now the dean of general education at Milwaukee Area Technical College, and JERREL JONES, the president of Courier Communications Corporation, which owns a radio station and a newspaper....**Milwaukee is only 23 percent black, so there would be an uphill fight even if the city's blacks can unite behind one candidate....Eleven of the state's 22 black elected officials hold office in Milwaukee.

NEW LEADERS CHOSEN: A. REGINALD EAVES, commissioner, Fulton County, Georgia, was elected president of the National Association of Black County Officials (NABCO). He will take office in September at the expiration of the term of the current president, WEBSTER J. GUILLORY, the county assessor in Orange County, California. Commissioner Eaves will also assume Mr. Guillory's position on the steering committee of the National Policy Institute.

The Honorable JOYCE LONDON ALEXANDER, United States magistrate, U.S. District Court for the District of Massachusetts, has been chosen by her colleagues to chair the Judicial Council of the National Bar Association in 1987-88. Magistrate Alexander replaces the Honorable THELMA WYATT CUMMINGS, judge, State Court of Fulton County.

The Death Penalty

(Continued from page 4)

is a haphazard practice. The district attorney testified in *McCleskey* that the standards are left basically to assistant district attorneys, which further invites arbitrary and capricious decisions. The standards should be applicable throughout the state, because the most compelling evidence of racial disparities in Georgia's cases is found in cases outside Fulton County.

Impact on System of Justice

In a recent speech at the commencement of John Jay College of Criminal Justice in New York, Professor Anthony Amsterdam (of the New York University School of Law) discussed the implications of *McCleskey* for the entire criminal justice system. The challenge he put to the graduates for improving the system is well worth repeating here.

Criminal justice professionals, Professor Amsterdam said, are obliged to speak out against the Supreme Court's conception of the criminal justice system. The criminal justice system must be, first and foremost, a system of justice. There can be no justice in a system which treats black people differently than white people, or treats crimes against blacks differently than crimes against whites. . . .

Racism must be eradicated not simply in the superficial, short-lived situation where we can point to one or another specific decision-maker and show that his or her decisions were the product of conscious bigotry, but also in the far more basic, more intractable and more destructive situation where hundreds upon hundreds of different public decision-makers, acting like Georgia's prosecutors and judges and juries—without collusion and in many cases without consciousness of their own racial biases—combine to produce a pattern that bespeaks the profound prejudice of an entire population.

The agencies of criminal justice have been given drastic and unique coercive powers, including the powers of imprisonment and death. And of course, discretion in the execution of such powers is essential. It is precisely because of this that they must be accountable. They cannot be exempted from the scrutiny that courts are bound to give to documented charges of discrimination.

As Professor Amsterdam told the graduates, it is demeaning to professionals in the criminal justice system to be told by the Supreme Court that they cannot do their jobs without special dispensation from the safeguards that assure to people of every race the equal protection of the law. ■

Resolution of the Black Leadership Forum

On July 16, 1987, the Black Leadership Forum (BLF) adopted a resolution denouncing the Supreme Court's decision in the *McCleskey* case. The 19 black leaders who signed the resolution are **Dorothy Height,** President of the BLF and of the National Council of Negro Women; **Julius L. Chambers,** Director-Counsel of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc.; **Councilman John Barnes,** President, National Black Caucus of Local Elected Officials; **Willie T. Barrow,** Executive Director, Operation PUSH; **Steve Davis,** Executive Director, National Newspaper Publishers Association; **Congressman Mervyn Dymally,** Chairman, Congressional Black Caucus; **Mayor Richard T. Hatcher,** Gary, Indiana; **Norman Hill,** Executive Director, A. Philip Randolph Institute; **M. Carl Holman,** President, National Urban Coalition; **Benjamin Hooks,** Executive Director, NAACP; **John Jacob,** President, National Urban League; **Ada Jackson,** President, Greek Letter Organizations; **Elton Jolly,** President and CEO, OICs of America; **Coretta Scott King,** President, Martin Luther King, Jr. Center for Non-violent Social Change; **Dr. Joseph Lowery,** President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference; **William Lucy,** Secretary-Treasurer, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; **Rev. Leon Sullivan,** Chairman, OICs of America; and **Eddie N. Williams,** President, Joint Center for Political Studies.

The resolution states that the Black Leadership Forum:

- affirms that racial discrimination in the administration of criminal justice is a violation of the basic rights of equality and humanity, and that discrimination exists whenever black people are treated differently than white people or whenever crimes against black people are treated differently than crimes against white people;
- insists that the responsibility to root out racial discrimination in the administration of criminal justice is an unavoidable obligation of all public officials and of citizens of all races;
- declares that evidence of widespread racial discrimination in the administration of the death penalty cannot be ignored or trivialized;
- calls upon Congress to enact federal legislation which will be adequate to assure against racial discrimination in the administration of the death penalty;
- calls upon governors and legislators to examine whether death sentences in their states have been imposed discriminatorily, to cease executing people during this examination, and to forbid the resumption of executions until the eradication of any racial discrimination is assured; and
- calls for continuing study of the workings of the criminal justice system, so that racial discrimination in every area of its administration and not merely in death cases can be exposed and eliminated.

(For more information, call the Black Leadership Forum at (202) 628-2990.)

How Loss of Manufacturing Jobs Is Affecting Blacks

Many Displaced Workers Were Reemployed But With Less Pay

by Margaret C. Simms

The United States economy is undergoing structural changes that have major implications for black workers. During the past 10 to 15 years, employment has shifted dramatically from the goods-producing sectors (manufacturing, mining, etc.) to service-producing ones. This shift has dislocated workers as old jobs are eliminated and new jobs are created.

The current shifts are not the first signs of structural economic change in the United States; significant change also took place as we moved from an agricultural economy to an industrial one. However, while blacks were beneficiaries of the earlier change (see box on this page), they may not fare well as a result of the current changes. For instance, data on reemployment of workers during the 1982-85 recovery period indicate that blacks are overrepresented in the occupations and industries which have suffered economic decline.

Economic Change and Displacement

According to a recent study by the Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS),[1] a total of 10.8 million workers lost their jobs between January 1981 and January 1986 due to plant closings, layoffs, and business failures. Just under one-half of them (5.1 million) are classified as displaced workers because they had held their jobs for at least three years. They lost their jobs not because of poor work performance but because economic change rendered the jobs obsolete. Approximately two-thirds of these displaced workers were reemployed by 1986, up from 60 percent in 1984. Just under 20 percent were still looking for work in 1986 and the remaining 15 percent were no longer in the work force.

Over a half million blacks were displaced in the early 1980s, about 11 percent of the total. This was slightly higher than their representation in the labor force (9.6 percent). Black women were nearly one-half of the black total and they were more likely to be displaced than were white or Hispanic women.

The displaced black workers had a much harder time finding new jobs than white workers. While 68 percent of whites were reemployed by January 1986, only 58 percent of black workers were. Like their white counterparts, most blacks who were not reemployed were still looking for work—they did not leave the labor force.

By Industry and Region

The reasons for the lower reemployment rates of blacks are related to the patterns of displacement and reemployment. About one-half of the workers who lost jobs were in manufacturing and two-fifths of them were in the blue collar job categories of operator, fabricator, and laborer. Workers in these occupations were also less likely to be reemployed.

While blacks were only slightly more likely than whites to be in manufacturing jobs at the beginning of the recession, they were much more likely to be in the blue collar occupations that sustained the larger layoffs and had the lower reemployment rates. In fact, over one-fourth of all black workers were in these blue collar occupational categories in 1980.

Displacement was not equally felt across the country.

Blacks Gained in Migration From Field to Factory

In the past 40 years black workers have moved into new industries and geographic locations as employment opportunities have shifted. In 1940, over three-fourths of the black population lived in the South. This population was primarily rural, and employment was predominantly in the agricultural sector. Over the next 30 years blacks moved out of the South and out of the agricultural sector into northern industrial jobs. Between 1940 and 1970 the proportion of the black work force that was employed in the agricultural sector dropped from 33 percent to 3 percent, while the proportion working in manufacturing jobs increased from 12 percent to 22 percent. The proportion of the black population that lived in the South declined from 77 percent to 53 percent. The "great migration" helped blacks increase their incomes in the last 40 years but it has left them in regions and industries that are now in decline.

Dr. Simms, an economist, is deputy director of research at the Joint Center.

1 "The Pulse of Economic Change: Displaced Workers of 1981-85," by Francis W. Horvath, *Monthly Labor Review*, June 1987.

Workers in the industrial Midwest were more likely to lose jobs and had more difficulty obtaining new jobs. About 17 percent of the black population is located in the most heavily hit states of Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Ohio, and Wisconsin. It is in these midwestern states, where industrial production is on the decline, that young black males were having difficulty finding good jobs even before the 1981-82 recession. As Daniel R. Fusfeld and Timothy Bates show in their book, *The Political Economy of the Ghetto*, only 41 percent of black males ages 20 to 24 in two of the hardest hit states, Ohio and Illinois, were working in 1980—as opposed to 63 percent in 1970. While over 40 percent of those who were employed had manufacturing jobs in 1970, only 31 percent did so in 1980.

The lack of good manufacturing jobs means that these young men are faced with either no jobs or service jobs that offer lower pay and less stability. Since Fusfeld and Bates found no deterioration in employment for young black men in southern states with expanding industrial employment, they attribute at least part of the growing nonparticipation of young blacks in the labor force to their location in areas of industrial decline.

Lower Wages, Less Stable Jobs?

Have displaced workers been forced to accept jobs in occupations and industries that pay lower wages and are subject to greater likelihood of part-time employment? According to the BLS study, about 2.7 million (79 percent) of the 3.4 million displaced workers who were reemployed by 1986 were working full-time. Over one-half of them had wages that were as high or higher than the wages they received in the jobs from which they had been displaced.

Since the study does not report on wage cuts by race, the impact on blacks must be inferred from their distribution among industries, which is shown in the table on this page.

As the table shows, an average of 40.4 percent of all displaced workers took pay cuts. However, in some of the industries in which blacks were overrepresented, a larger percentage did so. For instance, in the primary metals industry, where blacks were 12.2 percent of the work force, 52.5 percent of workers took pay cuts. Other data (not shown in the table) make it clear that blacks were also more likely to be among those who have taken a pay cut of more than 20 percent.

A JCPS task force on economic policy is doing further study on the displacement of minority workers; the results will be reported in *Focus* and other JCPS publications.

What Does the Future Hold?

Over the next 10 years, changes in employment patterns are expected to continue. Total employment within manufacturing will grow only slightly, and manufacturing jobs will decline modestly as a percentage of all jobs in the U.S. economy, as technological change leads to increased productivity for the individual worker.

Displaced Workers Who Took Wage Cuts Upon Reemployment

Industry	*Percent of Workers Who Took Wage Cuts*	*Total No. of Blacks Employed (1980)*	*Blacks as a % of Industry*
Transport, Communications, & Public Utilities	44.2	827,283	8.9
Manufacturing	43.8	2,103,603	9.9
Durable	43.2	1,181,601	8.9
Nonelec. Machinery	47.0	158,353	5.7
Elec. Machinery	52.1	178,424	8.1
Primary Metals	52.5	158,944	12.2
Motor Vehicles	12.6	163,616	11.7
Nondurable	45.0	940,224	11.1
Construction	38.9	403,992	7.0
Finance & Service	32.4	3,737,949	11.0
Wholesale & Retail	30.8	1,295,626	6.5
Public Administration	28.6	702,501	13.8
Average for All Industries	**40.4**	**9,334,048**	**9.6**

Sources: Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Monthly Labor Review*, June 1987 and U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Detailed Characteristics of the Population*, 1980.

The most rapid expansion of employment will continue to be in services and related industries. This does not mean that all the jobs created will be low-wage jobs. The fastest growth rates are projected to be in the relatively high-paying professional and business services subsectors. They are expected to account for over 70 percent of the growth in service jobs over the coming decade.

The growth in high-wage service jobs does not mean that black workers will necessarily improve their position in the economy. Blacks are currently overrepresented in the professional services sector, but one-half of them are in nursing care, child care, and hospital work, and another quarter of them are in elementary and secondary education. With the exception of teachers, the wages in these sectors are below those in manufacturing and are below the weekly wages for the service-producing sector as a whole.

Even though minority workers will be 40 percent of all the new entrants into the work force by the year 2000, educational and job specific skills will be necessary to move into the jobs that will be opening up. Most of the high-wage blue collar jobs that blacks were able to obtain in the post-World War II period did not require more than a tenth grade education. That will not be the case for the "good" jobs of the 1990s. Therefore, the position of blacks will suffer if education and training programs are not made available and utilized by blacks who are entering or reentering the work force. ■

Two New Books From JCPS

Black Initiative and Governmental Responsibility

Introduction by John Hope Franklin and Eleanor Holmes Norton, 1987

The second in a series of essays by a group of prominent scholars, called the Committee on Policy for Racial Justice, seeking a new direction in the discussion of issues facing black Americans. Approaches the problems and circumstances confronting blacks in the context of black values, the black community, and the role of government.

17 pp., ISBN 0-941410-61-7, **$6.95**

"...an effort by 30 black scholars to cut through the polarizing policies and rhetoric of the Reagan era and find a realistic approach to one of this society's greatest challenges."

David S. Broder, Syndicated Columnist

Strategies for Mobilizing Black Voters: Four Case Studies

Edited by Thomas E. Cavanagh, 1987

Documents four remarkably successful black voter mobilization efforts (two large northern cities, Chicago and Philadelphia; one black-majority southern city, Birmingham; and one small city/rural congressional district, the North Carolina 2nd). Analyzes these successes to illustrate effective strategies and techniques that might be used elsewhere.

148 pp., ISBN 0-941410-48-X, **$8.95**

"A superb, well-executed study. It fills a major gap in our knowledge of how the black electorate is mobilized and will be immensely valuable to scholars, students, and political activists. I will definitely be using it and heartily recommend it."

Charles V. Hamilton, Columbia University/Ford Foundation

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Welfare Reform Bill Calls For New Direction

Moynihan's Proposal Targets Absent Parents, Increases State Control of Program Design

The New Black Middle Class (Part I)

Since Emerging in the 1960s, How Far Up the Class Ladder Have They Risen?

Kick Off the Presidential Election Year at the Fifth National Policy Institute

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER

Perspective

ISSN 0740-0195

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MetLife Executive Proposes Corporate Support of Minority Firms

In last month's Perspective column, "Educational Reform and the Corporate Sector," I argued that unless corporations took the lead in ensuring that the work force was productive, "businesses cannot be productive, competitive, and profitable."

This month, I take up the same theme as it relates to corporate support for the small but growing minority business community. My basic argument is still the same: our nation needs the full contribution of a strong minority business sector if we are to rise above the challenges we now face from our overseas competitors.

I am pleased to report that this view is shared by top corporate leaders such as Philip Briggs, vice-chairman of the Metropolitan Life Company. In a recent speech, Mr. Briggs said, "Black business needs more broadening, strengthening, and a good deal of support."

It is clear from several recent studies that there are considerable resources within the black community that corporations may find to be useful. For instance, the most recent census data (covering 1977 to 1982) show a significant increase in the number of black-owned firms in the *business services* sector, which includes advertising, credit reporting and collection, mailing, reproduction, and stenography. Also, studies by the Minority Business Development Agency (MBDA) have documented the emergence of a new generation of black entrepreneurs "with managerial, technical, and professional experience in a desegregated workplace." (See "Black Businesses in Transition," *Focus*, June-July, 1986.)

These are indeed positive trends that the corporate sector should be willing to nurture and support. As Briggs said, "A critical mass is forming, and it will increase in weight and influence. But meanwhile, we all can, and should, do much more to speed up the process."

What can be done to speed up the process? Let me again quote Briggs, the veteran businessman:

> For example, large- and medium-size companies can seek out minority-owned businesses as regular suppliers of goods and services. Some companies, mine included, already have such a company-wide policy.
>
> We in the business community can provide other kinds of help as well. We can offer technical and managerial services—expertise most start-up businesses cannot offer but sorely need.
>
> We can help them find sources of capital. This is often cited as *the* most critical need of minority business, and the most difficult to meet without outside help.
>
> We can help set up incubators—facilities that support fledgling companies with low rent and a shared network of support services, such as secretarial help and data processing equipment.
>
> We can help black businesses explore the possibilities for tapping international markets for imports and exports.

By recommending concrete steps corporations can take to enhance the capacity of minority businesses and to expand the opportunities available to them, Briggs underscored the need for strong, viable minority businesses. If his recommendations are widely adopted, both minority businesses and the nation stand to benefit. ■

Eddie N. Williams

PRESIDENT

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Welfare Reform Bill Calls For New Direction

Moynihan's Proposal Targets Absent Parents, Increases State Control of Program Design

by Katherine McFate

On July 21, 1987, Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-N.Y.) introduced his long-awaited bill to reform public assistance for poor children. Moynihan and other advocates of reform argue that Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) needs a new direction, that the government needs to establish a new social contract with AFDC recipients based on two principles: (a) parents who can provide support for their children are obligated to do so; and (b) rather than encouraging long-term dependence on government assistance, welfare programs should be designed to help the poor become economically self-sufficient. To achieve this end, Moynihan's bill (S.1511) proposes (a) establishing a more efficient system of collecting support from absent parents who fail to provide support for their children; and (b) making education, employment, and training programs (currently administered under the Work Incentive [WIN] program) a more central part of the AFDC income maintenance system.

Mandatory Wage Withholding

The Child Support Supplement (CSS) program, which would replace AFDC in the proposed legislation, stresses the need for improving the legal mechanism for collecting child support. If passed, states would be allowed to automatically withhold support payments from the wages of an absent parent who had fallen behind in paying child support.

Mandatory wage withholding is an important step in assuring that absent parents are held responsible for supporting their children. In 1985, there were 8.8 million families with children headed by single mothers. Only half of these female-headed families had legal support orders, and less than one quarter were receiving the full amount of court ordered support due to them. Over 1.2 million families with court orders received no support from the absent parent. Another 1.1 million received partial support payments. The Moynihan bill would make it much easier for the children in these families to receive the private support to which they are entitled.

However, enforcement of support orders will only partially solve the problem. In 1985, two out of every five single-parent families with children had no court orders for support. Obtaining a support order is directly related to marital status. For example, divorced parents are four times more likely than never married parents to have support orders. Only about 10 percent (168,000) of the unwed mothers who were raising children in 1980 had court orders for the father to pay child support. Less than two-thirds of these families received any child support from the father and the amount received averaged less than $20 per week. Largely due to high rates of teen pregnancy and out-of-wedlock births in minority communities, only a third of black families and 40 percent of Hispanic families have support orders compared to 70 percent of whites.

Recognizing the problem unwed mothers face in obtaining support orders, the Moynihan bill emphasizes the need to establish legal paternity. (A father cannot legally be required to support his child until his name is put on the child's birth certificate.) Paternity was established for less than one in four out-of-wedlock births between 1980 and 1984. If a mother applies for or is receiving AFDC, she is supposed to cooperate with state agencies in establishing paternity as a condition for staying on welfare. The Moynihan bill would penalize states that do not increase their rate of paternity establishment to the level of the national average by cutting the federal matching grant for CSS benefits (currently AFDC) by 1 to 5 percent. By insisting that states work toward establishing paternity in all births, the government sets the stage for possibly collecting support from these fathers at some later point in their work life. The goal here is to send a message to fathers— particularly young fathers—that they have a responsibility to their children that the government will enforce whenever possible. This is a message we can all applaud.

However, while mandatory withholding of child support from pay checks will certainly improve the economic situation of many of the mothers and children who have working ex-spouses and fathers, it is largely irrelevant to the current population of long-term welfare recipients. Divorced mothers with working ex-spouses do not generally remain on welfare for long periods of time. Long-term welfare recipients are likely to be women who had children as teenagers, have never married, have less than a high school education and have limited work experience. The partners of these women are generally men with the same characteristics—limited education and sporadic work histories. Thus, even when paternity can be established, mandatory withholding of very limited, often sporadic, earnings will not reduce the need for some kind of public assistance for children in these families. These parents need to improve their marketable skills if they are ever going to earn enough to lift their families out of poverty. Moynihan's understand-

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Welfare Reform

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ing of this fact leads him to suggest employment and training programs targeted precisely at these individuals.

Increasing Independence

The Job Opportunities and Basic Skills (JOBS) program included in the Moynihan bill (which would replace WIN) both expands the population eligible for employment and training programs and targets funds at specific groups within this population. The bill requires women with children over three years old to participate in education, training or work programs; under WIN, women with children under six years old do not have to participate.

The bill also makes two-parent families with an unemployed head eligible for public assistance. This is an important improvement over current law and extends benefits to families with an unemployed parent in the 24 states that currently do not allow such families to receive government assistance; it also makes unemployed male household heads eligible to participate in JOBS programs.

While expanding the scope of coverage, the bill targets JOBS program funds toward individuals that are or are likely to become welfare recipients for long periods of time. States are required to spend at least 60 percent of all JOBS monies on (a) single parents who have received public assistance for at least 30 months; (b) young mothers who are high school dropouts; and (c) unemployed adults in two-parent families. States are allowed maximum flexibilty in determining the obligations to be imposed on long-term welfare recipients or adults in two-parent families, and are required to offer educational services only to those in the second category—mothers under 22 years of age. Yet, it is clear that without education and training programs a large proportion of the first group—single mothers who are long-term dependents—will have a difficult time entering the labor market.

Long-term welfare recipients often lack basic reading and math skills. A recent assessment of WIN mandatory clients in Philadelphia showed that although most reported that they had completed the tenth grade, the average competency level in reading was fifth or sixth grade and 20 percent had reading levels below fourth grade. Administrators in California discovered that half of all AFDC recipients in that state were in need of basic remedial education when the state instituted a plan that required individual assessments of clients' skills. Unfortunately, there is nothing in the Moynihan bill that would compel states to provide a full range of educational and training activities to individuals eligible for the JOBS program.

However, states can choose to institute mandatory workfare with no educational or training components under the Moynihan bill's JOBS program. Research by the Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation has shown that compulsory work programs that are not coupled with education and training do not decrease welfare dependency. In fact, requiring undereducated, unskilled welfare recipients to perform menial labor for a certain amount of time each week may even lengthen the amount of time a family remains dependent on public assistance by reducing the parent's ability to obtain the education and/or skills that could lead to full-time employment at more than a minimum wage.

Basic skills programs required to improve the employability of long-term welfare clients are expensive. Moynihan's bill does provide federal funds (at a 60 percent match) for education and training to states that are willing to invest their own resources in such programs. A few states have invested significant amounts of state funds in employment and training through the WIN Demonstrations projects. Employment and Training Choices (ET) in Massachusetts and Greater Avenues for Independence (GAIN) in California offer a full range of education, training and work activities. The Moynihan bill would allow these programs to continue to operate.

However, most states offer very little in the way of education and training under the WIN program. The majority provide only low-cost job search counselling that will not help under-educated, unskilled welfare recipients enter the labor market. The Moynihan bill will not change this situation.

Removal of Federal Standards in Ten States

The "waiver" clause included in the Moynihan bill would probably increase the existing disparities in the services provided by states. Up to 10 states could petition the Secretary of Health and Human Services for "waiver authority." This authority would allow the states to receive a block grant that combines the federal funds received for AFDC, Child Support Enforcement, Welfare Services, Foster Care, and other programs to support poor children. The state would then use this block grant to administer a set of programs of their own design. Although basic protections of benefit levels are included in the bill, guidelines and eligibility requirements established by the federal government for each of these individual programs would be waived for a five year period. Each state could establish its own eligibility standards and obligation requirements for participants. This is a step back from the national entitlement system that was first established in the New Deal.

Already there are enormous inequities in the amounts and kinds of public assistance that states provide to poor families. In Alaska, for example, in 1984 a mother with two children received $569 per month in AFDC and Medicaid support, while in Mississippi a family of the same size received only $117. In 1984, almost 80 percent of Vermont's eligible women and children were served by the Women, Infants, and Children (WIC) Supplemental Food Program; in Hawaii, only 16 percent of the WIC eligible population was served. A

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JCPS

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER

Inside This Issue

- **Blacks in the baby-boom generation show signs they may be willing to switch parties, but they are not likely to be responsive to attacks on civil rights leaders and to conservative social policies.**
- **The latest census data show a narrowing of the gap between black and white voter registration and turnout; yet, black political participation, especially in the South, is not yet "respectable," according to the Southern Regional Council's research director.**
- **As Jesse Jackson stands poised to toss his hat into the presidential ring, he appears to be in a better position than in 1984 to stay in the race all the way to the Democratic convention—and probably, to win more delegates.**
- **Across the nation, Birmingham Mayor Richard Arrington and Charlotte Mayor Harvey Gantt will both seek third terms; in the District of Columbia, a *Washington Post* poll shows that a majority of residents believe that "corruption is a big problem" in the administration of Mayor Marion Barry; and former Congressman Charles Diggs, Jr., announced his intention to enter the race for county commissioner in Wayne County (Detroit).**

Black Baby-boomers: What Impact on Presidential Politics?

Social commentators have been fascinated of late by the prospect that the baby-boom generation (variously defined as those born between 1945 and 1964 or those born after 1940) may decide the presidential election of 1988. The *Washington Post*, the *New York Times*, and *Newsweek*, to name just a few publications, have carried long articles on the subject. **But throughout most of this commentary, there has been little or no focus on blacks in the baby-boom generation. Not making blacks a part of the baby-boomers equation is a striking omission.** After all, blacks compose a larger proportion of baby-boomers than they do of any other generation: 13 percent of *all* potential voters under 30 years old are black, compared to 11 percent of voters between the ages of 30 and 49 and only 9 percent of voters 50 years and older.

What, then, is the potential impact of the black baby-boomers on the election of 1988? Are the young black boomers (the "me generation") different from older blacks? Do the baby-boomers, more so than their elders, believe blacks have made more progress? Are they as likely as their elders to favor a strong role for government in social welfare and civil rights policies? Do different issues concern the baby-boomers? If so, do these issues propel them in a new (more conservative) direction? Can the black boomers, like their white counterparts, be characterized as being fiscally conservative but socially liberal? And, in general, are they more likely than their elders to support the Republican nominee for president in 1988?

The 1986 JCPS/Gallup survey, one of the few surveys large enough to do subgroup analyses, **found that black baby-boomers were slightly less likely than older blacks to say they preferred the Democrats in last fall's congressional elections**—although the vast majority of blacks of all age groups overwhelmingly supported the Democrats. **Similarly, black baby-boomers were slightly more likely to say they would vote for the Republican nominee in 1988**—13 percent of black boomers, compared to 5 percent of older blacks. **Partisan identification showed a similar pattern: a vast majority of all blacks identified themselves as Democrats, but baby-boomers were far less likely to say they were strong Democrats and twice as likely to say they were Republicans.** And the boomers did seem to be demonstrating embryonic signs of switching their party labels. Asked if, in the last five years, they had thought of themselves as belonging to something other than their present party, boomers were three times more likely than their elders to say they had; more than a third said they had once thought of themselves as Democrats. Younger blacks were also more likely to say that they felt "better off" as a result of Reagan's economic policies—27 percent of those under 30, 19 percent of those from 30-49, and 20 percent of those over 50.

There were differences on the issues as well. **For example, younger blacks were less likely than older blacks to support strong enforcement of affirmative action;** in the JCPS/Gallup poll, 48 percent of those under 30, 53 percent of those aged 30-49, and 56 percent of those 50 and over supported affirmative action. Similarly, on the question of responsibility for helping the poor, **only 18 percent of the black baby-boomers thought government had the main responsibility,** compared to 27 percent of those 30-49 and 40 percent of those over 50. Finally, like their white counterparts, young blacks were substantially more likely to identify themselves as liberal on social issues. Fifty-two percent of blacks under 30 and 44 percent of blacks 30-49 reported that they held liberal views about "sex, morality, family life, and religion," but only 23 percent of blacks over 50 did so.

Thus, if there is a potential Republican constituency among blacks, it is probably young baby-boomers. EDGAR THORNTON, a black staffer at the Republican National Committee, seems to think this is the case. According to Thornton, **"the pro-business attitudes of younger blacks and the pro-business initiatives of the Republican party" will attract increased support nationwide from younger blacks.** Much, he believes, depends on who eventually wins the party's nomination. Some of those running have good records on "social programs and civil rights," according to Thornton.

Nevertheless, there are only slight differences between young blacks and their elders on many other issues, such as social spending to aid the poor and the effectiveness of civil rights groups such as the NAACP and the National Urban League. **Indeed, on civil rights issues, black baby-boomers rated civil rights groups as being "very effective" or "somewhat effective" and believed that civil rights leadership was proceeding at the right speed.**

As far as the implications of the survey go, then: Older blacks are likely to stay put with the Democrats, and no change in the voting patterns of younger blacks should be expected in 1988. Moreover, parties or candidates will not be able to win the votes of black baby-boomers with conservative social issue stances, attacks on civil rights leadership, drastic cuts in social spending to aid the poor, or a host of other issues long important to black America. The route that is most likely to be effective in gaining the support of young blacks is to convince them that the creation of employment, business, and educational opportunities is at the core of a candidate's campaign.

Voter Participation Gains Mask the Huge Job Still Ahead

When SONIA JARVIS, the newly appointed executive director of the National Coalition on Black Voter Participation, began work shortly after Labor Day, she may have read two documents on black voter participation that are not easy to reconcile. If the gains outlined in the first document lulled her into complacency (unlikely as that is), the second may have felt like a splash of cold water. **In the first document, the Census Bureau reports that between 1982 and 1986 blacks showed significant gains in voter registration and turnout, closing the registration gap with whites to one percentage point (64 percent for blacks, 65 percent for whites) and the turnout gap to four percentage points (43 percent for blacks, 47 percent for whites).** These are the smallest gaps between blacks and whites ever reported in the census surveys; and, in the 1986 midterm elections, the black turnout was reportedly higher than the white turnout in Alabama and California and less than four percentage points lower than the white turnout in Georgia and Louisiana. **In the second document, an article in *Southern Changes* (June-July 1987), ALEX WILLINGHAM, research director of the Southern Regional Council, writes that "under-registration and low voter turnout continue to handicap the black population in the South. This is the uncomfortable fact behind claims of an influential black vote made after the Jesse Jackson presidential campaign in the 1984 presidential primaries and after the 1986 elections....[T]he reality is that blacks in the South, even in some key jurisdictions, are neither registering nor voting in respectable numbers."**

Willingham's analysis stems from his view that barriers to voting have "diminished" throughout the South without a corresponding increase in the number of blacks elected to office. In Mississippi, for instance, he notes that "despite [the adoption of] single-member districts, blacks account for only 38 of the state's 410 [county supervisor] positions although blacks are a substantially larger percentage of the state's population." (The data are for 1985.) Though he points to the importance of the 1990 reapportionment and of the need to build cross-racial voter coalitions, **his main concern is to increase black registration and turnout. What can be done? His answer, "Nothing easily."** He notes that registration efforts by the political parties "tend to be episodic and personality-driven...[and are] of limited impact in low-profile elections even when the issues being decided are vitally important to minorities." On the other hand, he notes that the litiga-

is time to relitigate issues that have been resolved to the satisfaction of most southerners, black and white. When the Senate confirmation hearings begin on September 15, many black voters will be noting how the senators they helped to elect will vote. Support for Bork's confirmation will undoubtedly cost them black political support in the future.

In a related item, readers of the September 7 issue of the *New Republic* must have been surprised to discover that Judge CORNELIA KENNEDY was listed as black. Well, folks, you were right the first time. Judge Kennedy is not black. She is a very conservative white Catholic who, ironically, was opposed by blacks when she was considered for appointment to the Supreme Court at the time of Justice SANDRA DAY O'CONNOR'S appointment.

Some observers believe the *New Republic's* mistake was the product of a White House claim to have considered black and women candidates for the current vacancy on the Court. **However, inside sources confirm that the Justice Department never considered a black or a woman to fill this seat.** Why? Perhaps a clue lies in the statement of one of President Reagan's closest allies on the Judiciary Committee, Senator STROM THURMOND (R-S.C.), who noted, with some displeasure, that there are no southerners on the Court (after the retirement of Justice Powell, a Virginian). **Senator Thurmond's statement should be read to mean, of course, "no *white* southerner"—since Justice THURGOOD MARSHALL was born in Maryland. Could it be that Senator Thurmond assumes that blacks are not "real" southerners?**

Across the Nation

ALABAMA: In Birmingham, Mayor RICHARD ARRINGTON, declaring that "no one has done it better," launched his campaign for a third term. **Arrington, who was elected as the city's first black mayor in 1979 and elected again in 1983, asserts that during his administration the city has seen its greatest period of economic transition and growth in the last four decades.** The mayor's record has been under attack, however, by Tax Busters, a grass-roots group headed by BOB MCKEE, an attorney and Arrington's only opponent so far. . . .City Councilman BILL MYERS, a white former Birmingham police chief, has expressed interest in the city's top job but has not declared his candidacy. . . .Arrington has stated that only a major black candidate, such as WILLIAM BELL, president of the city council, could stand in the way of his reelection. Councilman Bell has not indicated whether he will run for mayor this year. . . .RICHARD FINLEY, a black Republican, may run against the winner of the Democratic primary.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA: According to a *Washington Post* poll in late August, **67 percent of D.C. residents believe that "corruption is a big problem in the District" and 54 percent believe that the U.S. attorney's investigation of Mayor MARION BARRY is "justified."** Barry's overall approval rating dropped from 50 percent in July 1986 to 44 percent in August 1987. . . .When asked to select from a list of reasons why Barry was being investigated, 32 percent of all respondents (37 percent of blacks and 12 percent of whites) said "because he is black"; and 61 percent of all respondents (54 percent of blacks and 86 percent of whites) said "because he may have committed a crime." (Six percent said "because he is a Democrat" and 1 percent chose "other.") . . .Though news reports alleged that high-ranking Democratic party officials were looking for a replacement if Barry decides to leave office for any reason, **the mayor defiantly responded that, "The only way I would get out of this office is to be carried out of here."** Barry has three years left in his third term of office. . . .Barry, who has not been indicted, or convicted, or even publicly accused of any wrong-doing, blasted the investigation as "Mickey Mouse" and says he has broken no laws. "What you have," Barry told the *New York Times*, "is a dozen people in a whole government who have taken advantage of the system. It's overblown. We don't have system-wide corruption."

ILLINOIS: Radio commentator and civil rights leader LU PALMER announced that the organization he heads, **the Black Independent Political Organization, will endorse a black candidate in September to oppose incumbent RICHARD DALEY II for the Democratic nomination for state's attorney in 1988.** Two potential candidates are state appellate court Justice R. EUGENE PINCHAM and former Operation PUSH executive director and attorney THOMAS TODD. . . According to Palmer, Daley's prosecution of former Alderman WALLACE DAVIS, who is black, amounted to "a political conspiracy. . . .[Daley] persecuted him."

MICHIGAN: In Flint, **incumbent Mayor JAMES A. SHARP, Jr., and newcomer MATT COLLIER, a former congressional aide, will square off in a November runoff election for the city's top job.** Though voters set a record for registration and turnout, none of the contestants received a majority of votes: Sharp received 37 percent, Collier secured the runner-up spot with 31 percent, and former Mayor JAMES W. RUTHERFORD, once regarded as the front-runner in the race, finished third with 29 percent. Sharp surged ahead when votes from predominantly black areas were counted.

In Detroit, CHARLES DIGGS, Jr., once considered one of the most powerful and influential congressional leaders, is returning to the political arena—but at the county level. The 64-year-old politician and mortician was the first to file his candidacy for the 2nd District Wayne County commissioner's seat vacated by FREDDIE BURTON, who was appointed to Probate Court. Diggs said he has been "overwhelmingly nominated" and elected 30 straight times, beginning with his election as a Michigan state senator in 1951 (a position once held by his father, Charles Diggs, Sr.). . . Besides Diggs, 10 other Democrats are running for the 2nd District seat. . . .The only Republican in the race is MARJORIE B. ROGERS, who is black.

NORTH CAROLINA: Charlotte Mayor HARVEY GANTT, unopposed in the September 15 primary, is a strong favorite to be reelected to a third term in the November general election. Gantt is considered to be one of the new breed of black mayors—i.e., pragmatic, experienced, and independent. Some observers say he has not pleased the black community as much as they expected when he was elected, but he has pleased enough of the downtown business community to get their financial largess for his campaigns. **It is very difficult to run against Gantt, according to a political analyst quoted in the *Winston Salem Journal*, who said, "He can turn out an enormous black vote, but in Charlotte, if you use race as an issue you get branded as a racist very quickly, and it's hard to find any other issues on which to face him. Harvey just hasn't done anything bad."** . . .Gantt's opponent in the general election will probably be SUE MYRICK, a former Charlotte City Council member, who is attacking Gantt on a bond issue he favors, for his policies on roads and taxes, and for "government waste." Most observers believe, however, that only a colossal mistake on Gantt's part could give the election to Myrick.

tion strategies favored by philanthropic groups have not resulted in increased registration or voting. **As he says, "Proponents of voter registration should avoid putting so many eggs in the litigation basket and return to providing support for organizational community-based work designed to register and vote the population."**

If the two reports are read together, the message is clear: much has been gained, but the job of advancing black political empowerment still remains unfinished. Jarvis, a Yale Law School graduate and former associate counsel at the Center for National Policy Review, begins her new job with much to accomplish; *TL* sends our best wishes.

Jackson Slips in Polls But Enters Presidential Race to Stay

Labor Day was not a day of rest for JESSE JACKSON. In the morning, he appeared on national television to announce his intention to seek the Democratic party nomination for president of the United States (though he will not officially enter the race until October 10) and then he embarked on a three-state campaign swing that took him to Pittsburgh, Cleveland, and New York. **Though polls show that Jackson's support is still in the teens (and may be falling), he appears even likelier now than he was at this time in 1984 to stay in the race all the way to the Democratic convention next July—and, probably, to win more delegates....** In the all-important area of campaign funding, for instance, Jackson met his goal of raising $1 million by the time of his Labor Day announcement—thanks in part to late August fund-raisers in Chicago and New York, the latter featuring entertainers BILL COSBY and ROBERTA FLACK and hosted by businessman PERCY SUTTON. In contrast, "We were basically broke the day we announced in 1983," said Jackson's press secretary, FRANK WATKINS.... **Jackson has also come a long way in developing a constituency ("the damned, dispirited, disrespected, and despised") that is not entirely black.** As political analyst WILLIAM SCHNEIDER wrote in the *National Journal*, "For three years, Jackson has been going around the country collecting discontent. When a farm is foreclosed in Iowa, Jackson is there. When a factory closes in the Rustbelt, Jackson is there. He has been prominently associated with striking communications workers, unemployed oil-field workers, and laid-off TWA flight attendants." While 90 percent of Jackson's 1984 campaigning was in the black community, he now has spent "maybe 40 percent [of his time] in the white community," according to Watkins. In particular, Jackson has focused on Iowa, the leadoff state in the delegate selection process, where blacks are only 1 percent of the population. Is his message getting through? Listen to JAY HOWE, co-chairman of the Adair County Democratic Party, who told *New York* magazine: **"I don't know what it is but you put that man out there in the small towns and they just go wild over him....I think the most important thing is his message—they relate to his anger. They loved it when he opened the office here and said, 'It is safer and more profitable in this country to sell Mercedes-Benz sedans than John Deere tractors.' He's making them see that they're in the same boat now as the unemployed inner-city worker."** Howe was so impressed that he agreed to become co-chairman of Jackson's Iowa campaign. Other party activists in the state, however, seem not to think so highly of Jackson. In an August 1987 poll of those who participated in the 1984 Iowa Democratic Party Caucus, only 5 percent listed Jackson as their "first choice" for the Democratic party nominee....What about Jackson's base among blacks? At this writing, none of the declared Democratic or Republican candidates seem likely to get anywhere near the black support that WALTER MONDALE got in 1984; that, plus the growing expectations of a black "show of force" on Super-Tuesday, are the clearest signs that blacks are solidly in Jackson's corner—at least for now.

All this is not to say that Jackson can win, but that it is almost certain he will gain enough support to stay in the race to the end, i.e., the Democratic nominating convention in Atlanta. In 1984, Jackson entered the convention with 465½ delegates. This time, analysts say, he would have greater delegate strength, perhaps even a quarter of the 4162 delegates at stake.

Opposing Judge Bork's Nomination to the Supreme Court

Black voters, particularly from the states that helped elect a Democratic majority in the U.S. Senate in 1986, could be the key to the eventual rejection of Judge ROBERT BORK'S nomination to the U.S. Supreme Court. **If Bork were confirmed, the Reagan administration would be encouraged to renew its attack on affirmative action and also to challenge school desegregation and "one man-one vote." A tilt of the Supreme Court to the far Right could signal the forces of reaction and retrenchment that it**

The New Black Middle Class (Part I)

Since Emerging in the 1960s, How Far Up the Class Ladder Have They Risen?

by Bart Landry

In a country where progress is measured by movement up the class ladder—the fabled pursuit of the American Dream—there has been surprisingly little analysis of upward mobility among blacks. To fill this gap, I embarked on a study about the black middle class and collected survey data from 21 metropolitan areas across the country.[1] My objectives were twofold: first, to find out how many blacks had made it into the middle class, and second, to compare their position within the middle class to that of whites.

By focusing on the growth of the middle class, I believe we gain a more accurate portrait of black progress than if we look only at measures of relative poverty or income. Those two measures are undoubtedly important but they do not fully reveal the degree to which blacks have been brought into—or excluded from—the American economic mainstream. (See box below for a discussion of how to measure the middle class.)

The Middle Class During Segregation

The twentieth century began with the vast majority of black workers in the ranks of the rural proletariat of sharecroppers and tenant farmers, or in the urban unskilled working class. In 1910, for instance, only 3 percent of black workers held middle-class jobs. By comparison, the number for whites was 25 percent, and nearly half of them worked as clerical and sales personnel—occupations from which blacks were excluded.

Middle-class blacks, in the years during segregation, were primarily professionals serving the black community, such as ministers, teachers, and a handful of doctors, dentists, and lawyers. Because this group, unlike the middle class which emerged in the 1960s, was economically dependent on the black community and because they were subjected to the subordination faced by all blacks under (*de facto* or *de jure*) segregation, I refer to them as the "old" black middle class.

Fifty years later (in 1960), on the eve of the Civil Rights Movement, only 13 percent of blacks had reached the middle class, compared to more than 40 percent of whites. (See bar graph on page 6.) The relatively small increase in the percentage of middle-class blacks reflects the undeniable truth that the first half of the twentieth century brought only meager progress to blacks. The major change consisted of a shift out of farming jobs and into the unskilled working class where black men found themselves confined to

(Continued on page 6)

Is Class Defined by Income or Occupation?

Following a long tradition which began with sociologist Max Weber, I define middle class in terms of an individual's occupation. Specifically, I include only those who have white-collar occupations: professionals, managers and administrators, and sales and clerical workers.

In *Ebony's* August 1987 issue on "The New Black Middle Class," sociologist Robert Hill and economist Andrew Brimmer take a different approach: they define the middle class by income. Hill includes *individuals* with incomes of $20,000-$50,000; Brimmer includes *families* with incomes of $25,000-$50,000. There are many problems with their approach. For example, Hill and Brimmer set the same upper income limit ($50,000) for both individuals and families. How can that be? Another problem is that knowing an individual's income tells us little about future earning potential, job security, or occupational mobility. It does not tell us whether the income is the reward for 15 years as a garbage collector, 10-15 years in a factory, 4 years as a computer programmer, or 2 years as an engineer. Income, in short, tells us little about the true economic position of an individual.

By contrast, an individual's occupation tells us more, such as whether it is a job with a future or a dead-end job; a secure job or one plagued by frequent layoffs and a high unemployment rate; and whether it is a job with transferable skills that make occupational mobility possible. For example, blue-collar workers may earn more than some sales and clerical workers but may also face frequent layoffs, higher unemployment rates, and low mobility; accordingly, sales and clerical workers are included in the middle class but blue-collar workers are not. In short, the occupations with the most desirable mix of economic returns are included in the middle class; they are commonly known as white-collar occupations.

The author, an associate professor of sociology at the University of Maryland, is a JCPS visiting scholar for 1987.

[1]The findings of this study were published in my book, *The New Black Middle Class* (University of California Press, 1987).

(Continued from page 5)

the most menial, dangerous, and dirty work of an industrial economy, and where black women became the domestic workers of the rapidly expanding white middle class.

The "Miracle" of the 1960s

What has happened in the years since 1960? The biggest surprise for me in my research was the discovery that the black middle class doubled in size from 13 percent in 1960 to 27 percent in 1970—a greater increase in size in 10 years than had occurred in the previous 50 years.

In explaining the "miracle" of the sixties, two events which occurred simultaneously, by chance, are most responsible: the Civil Rights Movement *and* a booming economy. The former led to passage of the civil rights laws of 1964, particularly Title VII, which mandated an end to discrimination in hiring and promotions. The latter—a high rate of economic growth, especially in the second half of the decade—created so many new white-collar jobs that the anti-discrimination law could be enforced without whites having to pay a price for affirmative action. Of the 13 million new jobs added to the labor force during the sixties, 74 percent were white-collar jobs. Because of Title VII, blacks captured a fair share of these jobs, especially between 1964 and 1969, when the black middle class grew between 8 percent and 12 percent annually.

Black middle-class growth in the sixties was unique not only for its high rate of increase, but also for the diversity of occupations that blacks entered—accounting, engineering, science, architecture, and sales and clerical work in white establishments. In short, blacks were entering white-collar occupations in all areas of the economy.

The new racial norms created by the civil rights laws also ensured blacks the right to purchase any goods and services they could afford. For these two reasons—greater occupational diversity and a new normative climate—I call the black middle class that emerged in the 1960s a *new* black middle class.

To underscore the necessity of *both* Title VII and a vigorous economy for black middle-class progress, let's compare the growth rates in the sixties with the growth rates of the 1950s and the 1970s. During the fifties, when the economy performed almost as well as in the sixties but before Title VII was passed, blacks realized rising incomes (the median income went up 40 percent) but little upward occupational mobility. The ranks of the black middle class grew by only 3 percent. In the 1970s, with Title VII in place but with the economy sputtering, the black middle class grew 7 to 10 percent annually—down from a rate of 8 to 12 percent annually in the late 1960s.

The growth rate in the 1980s is very similar to the rate of the 1970s. The black middle class continues to grow but at a slower pace than in the 1960s. Had the black middle class continued to grow in the 1970s and 1980s at the same pace as it had in the 1960s, its numbers would have risen by one million more—to 4.5 million instead of the 3.5 million it reached in 1980; and by 1984, 43 percent, rather than 39 percent, of all blacks would have entered the middle class.

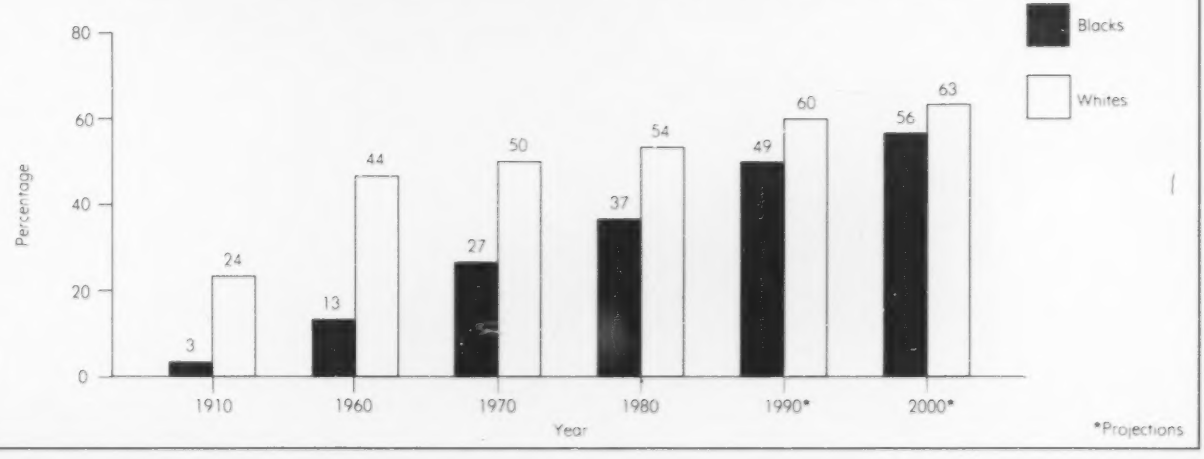
Projections to the Year 2000

What can we expect in the future? Assuming that the present growth rates continue, I project that 49 percent of all black workers will be in the middle class by 1990 (compared to 60 percent of whites); and by the year 2000, 56 percent of all black workers and 63 percent of all white workers will be in the middle class.

I believe the first reaction of many will be disbelief. Half of all blacks in the middle class by the year 2000? How can that be? The answer is that some progress up the ladder has been made. However, the gains should not be overstated. As shown in the following section,

(Continued on page 7)

Black and White Middle-Class Growth, 1910-2000



Black Middle Class

(Continued from page 6)

blacks are still disproportionately represented in the lower rungs of the middle class. Moreover, it will be well into the twenty-first century before the proportion of blacks in the middle class equals the proportion of whites in the middle class.

How Far Up Have They Risen?

Though the black middle class is growing, its members occupy a very different economic position than members of the white middle class. In the balance of this article, I will briefly discuss some of the key differences. (In Part II, which will appear in the October issue of *Focus*, I will explore in greater detail the relative differences in income, occupation, and standard of living.)

One key measure of progress is whether blacks occupy jobs in the upper middle class (professional, managerial, and administrative) or the lower middle class (sales and clerical). In 1973, 58 percent of middle-class blacks were in lower middle-class jobs and 42 percent were in upper middle-class jobs, compared to 49 percent and 51 percent, respectively, for whites. The ensuing decade brought little change. By 1982, the proportion of blacks in the upper middle class had risen to 44 percent, while the proportion of upper middle-class whites increased to 54 percent. If present trends continue, by the year 2000 less than half of all middle-class blacks (48 percent), compared to 58 percent of whites, will be in the upper middle class.

To gain some insight into the significance of this difference, consider the relative incomes associated with each of these two strata. In 1984, the average income of black males in the upper middle class was $27,500; but it was only $20,000 in the lower middle class. For white males, the average upper middle-class income was $36,000; the average lower middle-class income was $26,000. Similar gaps are found among women.

An additional difference between blacks and whites is that black middle-class growth in the 1970s and 1980s has been disproportionately led by women. This has meant a weaker economic position for the black middle class, because black women are more likely than black men to get lower middle-class jobs and to earn less.

In conclusion, there is no denying that the growth of the black middle class since the 1960s represents a watershed in the black experience in America. For the first time in the history of this country, blacks gained access to the middle class in significant numbers and were given a chance to begin enjoying the good life of the American Dream. However, the black middle class still lags far behind the white middle class in proportionate size and in access to the most desirable jobs within the middle class. The pace of upward mobility for blacks has also slowed since the gains of the 1960s. If currents trends continue, the black middle class will not gain parity with whites until well into the next century. ■

Welfare Reform

(Continued from page 4)

1987 report by the Urban Institute indicates that only 10 states have been able to maintain stable work-welfare programs under WIN during the past five years. Only six states replaced all federal funding lost during this period with state funds. The report showed that

Only about 10 percent (168,000) of the unwed mothers who were raising children in 1980 had court orders for the father to pay child support.

the states that can afford to provide a comprehensive range of employment and training services for the poor are precisely those states in which a strong economy already creates greater employment opportunities for the poor than in other areas of the country.

The thrust of the S.1511 is to encourage states to work more actively to reduce their welfare loads. The language in the bill suggests that states should do this in two ways: first, by aggressively pursuing absent parents who fail to contribute to the support of their offspring and second, by setting up education, employment and training programs that will help adult welfare recipients become self-sufficient. These are laudable

The proposed legislation does not require states to provide education and training programs.

goals. Unfortunately, the bill does not contain language to ensure that education and training programs will be available to the individuals targeted by the JOBS program. Six years of WIN Demo projects and almost 20 years of WIN programs have taught us that many states, particularly those in the South, will do little to help poor families without federal direction. S.1511 does not provide the federal leadership in this area for which many of us had hoped. ■

Kick Off the Presidential Election Year at the Fifth National Policy Institute

"The timing of the Fifth National Policy Institute—before the nominating caucuses and primaries—affords black public officials an invaluable opportunity to build effective networks and coalitions; to share information on pertinent public policy issues; and to hear from experts on ways to address the future direction of national policy affecting black Americans."

Eddie N. Williams
President of the Joint Center for Political Studies.

Sponsors of the Fifth National Policy Institute

The Congressional Black Caucus
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The National Association of Black County Officials
The National Black Caucus of Local Elected Officials
The National Black Caucus of State Legislators
The National Caucus of Black School Board Members
The National Conference of Black Mayors

The kickoff for the 1988 presidential election year will coincide with an historic meeting of over 1,000 black elected officials at this year's **Fifth National Policy Institute ("NPI V")** conference. The Institute's sponsors—the seven national organizations of black elected officials (see list above) and the Joint Center for Political Studies—expect to develop strategies to influence the policy positions of the Democratic and Republican presidential hopefuls.

"The next presidential election will have such a monumental impact on black America, history will either pay homage to or decry our collective efforts as black elected officials to affect the outcome of the race," said **Rep. Mervyn Dymally (D-Calif.), chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus,** "The Fifth National Policy Institute will begin writing this chapter in our history."

The issues to be discussed in the public policy forums include:

- *The 1988 Elections: Implications for Black America*
- *Voter Participation/Voter Mobilization*
- *The Changing Nature of the Black Family*
- *Job Creation: Which Strategies Work in the Black Community*
- *Addressing the Needs of the Black Rural Community*
- *Increasing Opportunities for Minority Businesses*
- *Black Philanthropy: The Legacy Continues*
- *The Underclass: Reality or Myth?*
- *The Prosecution/Persecution of Black Elected Officials*

All events will be held at the Grand Hyatt Washington Hotel, 1000 H Street N.W., Washington D.C., January 20-23, 1987.

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